

La Creacion, La Transgression
and L'Expulsion of the
Mistere Du Viel Testament

edited by

Barbara M. Craig

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Kansas University

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Preface

The *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion** are the first three sections of the only surviving medieval French dramatic cycle dealing with Old Testament subjects, *Le Mistère du Viel Testament*. The existence of three early prints of this *Mistère* dating from the first half of the sixteenth century attest to the continuing popularity of this work. Only one modern edition of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* exists. It was prepared by Baron James de Rothschild (completed by Emile Picot) and published in six volumes by the *Société des anciens textes français* between 1878 and 1891.

Although the *Mistère du Viel Testament* is obviously a composite work, bringing together plays by many authors and of diverse literary characteristics, the few critics who have studied the compilation have treated it as a whole, sometimes allowing the prolixity of certain sections to outweigh the very real excellence of others. It is in an effort to point up the value of some of the better units of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* that the present edition has been undertaken. The three plays chosen are the obvious starting point for a fresh appraisal of the *Mistère*. Not only do they present the most significant episodes treated in the *Mistère* but they are well written, they have counterparts in the literatures of other countries and they form the foundation on which the vast structure of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* rests. It is hoped that subsequent publication of scholarly editions of other outstanding sections of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* will result in a new evaluation of this important cycle.

The Rothschild edition of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* will always remain valuable because it provides a fairly dependable text of the complete work. Because Rothschild was preoccupied with the task of publishing the whole *Mistère*, however, he could not study in detail the

*In the earliest print of the *Mistère du Viel Testament* the fifteenth-century editor has provided page headings indicating the subjects treated in the page in question. So we read:
folio ii r° "La creacion du ciel et de la terre"
folio xi r° "La tentacion de sathan a eve"
folio xi v° "La transgression de adam et eve"

Since the pages of the present edition rarely coincide with those of the early print it has seemed impractical to reproduce the page headings. Instead, the titles *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* have been provided by the editor for the three units to facilitate discussion and reference.

individual units as dramatic entities. Although he has supplied some rather desultory introductory remarks to the various sections of the *Mistère* these fall far short of furnishing the systematic assessment of all aspects of a medieval work which is required of a critical edition in the modern understanding of the term. Rothschild has made little effort to place the plays in the dramatic tradition of medieval France, nor has he investigated the sources, authorship, staging, characterization, poetry or language of the separate parts. Much progress has been made in the study of medieval French drama since Rothschild's edition appeared. It is hoped that in the light of modern scholarship the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* will emerge as plays representative of a *Mistère* worthy of consideration by all students of medieval drama.

I wish to acknowledge here two grants from the University of Kansas Research Funds which facilitated some of the research needed for the preparation of this edition. I also wish to thank two undergraduate research assistants, Lawrence G. Morgan and James W. McCalla, who contributed much to the completion of this material. Finally I wish to express my gratitude to Professor J. Neale Carman for his ever gracious response to my requests for advice and criticism. Any defects which may be found in this edition are, however, the responsibility of the editor.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INTRODUCTION,
NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

Cr., *Creacion*

ed., edited by

Ex., *Expulsion*

fol., folio

l. (ll.), line(s)

ms., manuscript

MVT, *Mistère du Viel Testament*

pres. part., present participle

r^o, *recto*

r., rubric

s.v., *sub voce*

Tr., *Transgression*

v^o, *verso*

vol., volume

V.T., H. Hess's abbreviation of *Mistère du Viel Testament*

Introduction

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORK

A. The *Mistère du Viel Testament*

The *Mistère du Viel Testament*¹ (approximately 49,386 lines²) is a compilation of plays presenting incidents derived from the Old Testament and related legends and apocryphal writings. No manuscript of the complete work has survived. The earliest edition of the *MVT* dates from 1500 but most of the plays probably go back to the mid-fifteenth century.³ This *Mistère* is obviously the product of many playwrights. Some sections of it are of better literary quality than others. The reader is sometimes aware of the work of "remanieurs" who have created links to combine incidents or fill in gaps. Yet it seems probable that a single person outlined the shape that the *Mistère* was to take, leaving the task of filling out his plan to a number of writers and compilers.⁴

The *MVT* gives no systematic account of the stories of the Old Testament. The larger portion of the collection (the first 36,535 lines) relates events ranging from the creation of the world to the visit of the Queen of Sheba at the court of Solomon. The rest of the collection, comprising six quite independent plays, gives the stories of Job, Tobias, Susannah and Daniel, Holofernes and Judith, Esther, Octavian and the Sibyls. It has been pointed out that to a large extent the subject matter

1. Hereafter referred to as the *MVT*.

2. The number of lines is listed according to the edition of Baron James de Rothschild, *Le Mistère du Viel Testament* (Paris: 1878-91), 6 volumes. We have found discrepancies in Rothschild's numbering of lines, but consider his notations approximately correct.

3. I have found it impossible to date the original version of the *MVT* any more precisely than Rothschild has done. The first date associated with the *MVT* is a reference to a performance of an Old Testament play in Abbeville in 1458 (see Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères* [Paris, 1880], II, p. 27). A study of the language of the plays included in the present edition proves only that, linguistically speaking, these works are typical of fifteenth-century French (see Chapter VI below). Herbert Hess, in *Studien zum Mistère du Viel Testament* (Frankfurt, 1936) has tried to arrive at a date for the *MVT* as a whole by examining the rhyme and metre. He concludes: "Die Kernsubstanz des V.T. ist hiernach wohl um 1460 verfasst" (p. 42). Hope Traver, in her study *The Four Daughters of God* (Philadelphia 1907, Bryn Mawr Dissertation) says (p. 96) that the *MVT* was probably compiled about 1480 but she gives no reason for her selection of a date nor does she try to establish the date of original composition. Other critics accept Rothschild's dating.

4. It may be that here, as is suggested by Frappier in the case of the *Lancelot en prose*, an "architecte" conceived the work as a whole, and perhaps determined the parts of the Old Testament to be included in the drama, but that then a team of writers wrote individual plays. On this proposal see Jean Frappier, *Etude sur la Mort le roi Artu* (Paris 1936, 2nd edition, 1961), pp. 27-146, Jean Frappier *La Mort le roi Artu* (Genève, 1954), p. x, and J. Neale Carman's review of the latter edition in *Romance Philology*, IX (1955), p. 81.

of the plays corresponds with the sections of the Old Testament regularly assigned for reading in services of the church year.⁵ It is also clear that those Old Testament incidents which seemed to offer parallels to New Testament events were particularly favored.⁶

The termination of the main body of the *MVT* with the presentation of the Queen of Sheba is probably due to the fatigue or death of the person supervising the work. The last six plays, different from those which precede, seem to reflect fresh direction. Their compiler, no doubt influenced by the Parisian custom of ascribing great importance to the apocryphal books of the Old Testament⁷ saw the stories dramatized here as links between the Old and New Testaments. For him this series of plays was to fill the function of the earlier *Ordo Prophetarum*, foretelling in its own fashion the coming of Christ. Thus Job was shown to be a prefiguration of Christ by his patience, Tobias by his fidelity, Susannah by her purity, Judith by evidence of devotion to her people, and Esther by similar devotion and humility.⁸ The final section, entitled *Octavien et les Sibilles*, introduced the Sibyls' prophecies of the coming of the Saviour. To the fifteenth-century mind, with its quickening interest in the moral and Christian implications of ancient literature, the *Sibyls'* words probably carried even greater weight than those of the Old Testament prophets; they furnished an important bond between Old and New Testament incidents.

The length of the plays within the *MVT* varies considerably. With the exception of the last six units the breaks between the sections are not always clearly indicated.

5. See Hardin Craig, "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays," *Modern Philology*, X (1913), pp. 473-87; A. Jenney, "A Further Word as to the Origin of the Old Testament Plays," *Modern Philology*, XIII (1915), pp. 59-64; and Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford, 1954, 2nd edition, 1960), pp. 80-81 and 195.

6. E. Lintilhac, *Le Théâtre sérieux du moyen âge* (Paris, no date), pp. 97-98.

7. In the late medieval period general usage was to read sections of *Job*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Esther* and *Maccabees* during the month of November (J. Baudot, *Le Bréviaire roman* [Paris, 1907], p. 56). In Paris during the fifteenth century, however, *Job* was read "a kalendis augusti usque ad kalendas septembris," *Tobit* "per primos quindecim dies mensis septembris," then *Judith* for a week, *Esther* for a week, and finally *Maccabees* "a kalendis octobris usque ad kalendas novembris" (l'abbé V. Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le bon, bréviaire parisien du XVe siècle* [Paris, 1929], I, p. 210).

8. In connection with these plays Petit de Julleville remarks: "Or il n'est guère probable que le hasard tout seul ait dicté le choix de ces six épisodes dont il n'est pas un que l'exégèse du temps ne rapportât à l'histoire du Christ par voie de figure ou d'allusion; Job et Tobie l'annonçaient par leur résignation, Suzanne par son innocence, Daniel par sa sagesse, Judith et Esther par leur dévouement à leur peuple" I, p. 210.

It is doubtful that the *MVT* was often performed as a whole. At least twenty-five days would have been required for such a presentation.⁹ Yet certain circumstances indicate that on a few occasions the complete cycle may have been brought to the stage. Two early editions, dating from approximately 1500 and 1520,¹⁰ both claim to be prints of a "Mistère . . . joué a Paris"; the 1542 edition corresponds in time to letters patent granted for a performance of a *Jeu et Mistère de l'Ancien Testament*.¹¹ It seems highly probable that in this case, as in that of other plays published at the end of the fifteenth century, the *MVT* was printed in conjunction with a performance of the work, in part or in whole.

Other references to presentations of the Old Testament subjects¹² may relate to shorter works, perhaps sections of our cycle or independent plays, dealing with comparable subjects. The same is true of the request of the duc de Vendôme (June 13, 1542) that a special performance of the *MVT* be arranged for him before he departed on a mission for the king.¹³

The *MVT* is unique in that it is the only known French cycle dealing solely with the Old Testament. Ever devout, but not necessarily trained theologians, the authors of our plays sought their subject-matter in the body of information that had grown up around the Old Testament stories as well as in the stories themselves. They gave equal importance to accruing legends and to Biblical source. As Rothschild says, the *MVT* "forme une vaste encyclopédie des connaissances sacrées, des traditions et des légendes en honneur à cette époque."¹⁴ At the same time our playwrights offer us a precious glimpse into the fifteenth-century mind as it came to grips with the always difficult understanding of the Old Testament message.

The authors of the *MVT* were above all teachers. They wished to instruct their audience and used the best methods familiar to them to

9. Rothschild, I, p. xv, note 1.

10. For the dating of the first two prints see Petit de Julleville, II, p. 353; Rothschild, I, pp. xxi and xxiv; and Frank, p. 194.

11. The text of the records of the *parlement* concerning these letters patent is given by Rothschild, I, p. xiv.

12. Petit de Julleville, II, pp. 180 ff.

13. Rothschild, I, p. xv.

14. Rothschild, I, p. xvii.

attract their public in order to enlighten it. They knew that realism made probably the most direct appeal to the common man. As the medieval dramatist had little concept of historicity, his striving towards realism led him to introduce in his dramas people who spoke and acted, worked and played, in much the same fashion as did his own contemporaries. This realism might even go so far as to involve comic repartee or digressive interludes useful to break the monotony of the didactic subject matter. The popular details thus included bring the modern reader close to the life of the ordinary person who witnessed the plays at the time of their inception.

The better playwrights of the *MVT* were fine poets and sensitive interpreters of their topics. Within the texts are found a variety of verse forms and passages of remarkable lyric beauty. Although many of the sections are written in pedestrian rhyming couplets and *rime croisée* the more carefully polished scenes evidently spring from the pens of gifted poets. The superior authors also display considerable skill in character portrayal. God, Lucifer, Satan, Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Esther and many of the minor figures are among the most vivid personalities of the medieval stage. Their dialogues repeatedly move the reader by their sincerity and measured cadences. The wording and metre often contribute to establishing the emotions of the characters presented.

Particularly rewarding is the study of the staging of the *MVT*. Although some of the plays in the collection give little indication that they were ever performed, many have abundant stage directions and were obviously intended for presentation. Traditions of staging had grown up with the centuries-old evolution of drama dealing with New Testament subjects. In the *MVT* can be observed the adaptation of these traditions to the rather different demands made by the performance of Old Testament subjects.

Because of its length and the mediocre quality of some sections, the *MVT* has been largely neglected by scholars of medieval literature. The only modern edition of the work was prepared by Baron James de Rothschild and published between 1878 and 1891 in Paris by the *Société des anciens textes français*. Rothschild's edition is of prime importance because it gives the complete text of the *MVT*.¹⁵ Yet in view

15. For a fuller discussion of Rothschild's edition see the chapter on *Editions* below.

of the progress that has been made in medieval studies in the last sixty or seventy years, Rothschild's edition necessarily falls short of modern critical standards.

B. The *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion*

It is in an effort to supplement Rothschild's monumental offering of the complete *MVT* that the present edition of the first three episodes (ll. 1-1878) has been undertaken. The prolixity of the *MVT* as a whole has led scholars to overlook the very real value of some of its parts. It is hoped that a new presentation of the first sections of the *Mistère*, carried out according to modern methods of critical editing, may help to focus attention upon the significance of the *MVT* in the history of medieval drama.

The *Creacion* (ll. 1-965), *Transgression* (ll. 966-1290) and *Expulsion* (ll. 1291-1878) have been selected for publication in view of three major considerations: first, because together they constitute a unit and form the foundation on which the rest of the *MVT* is built; second, because they include elements typical of the *MVT* as a whole and can thus be considered representative; and, third, because these plays are of especial interest inasmuch as they have counterparts in medieval English drama. Finally it is hoped that publication of these initial episodes may lead to the eventual appearance of other valuable sections of the *MVT*, such as the Noah play or the *Sacrifice d'Abraham*, in modern editions.

Our method of dividing the material into three sections may seem somewhat arbitrary, since the rhyme pattern surrounding the breaks is not that found at the conclusion of distinct units elsewhere in medieval French drama.¹⁶ Yet the rhymes at the end and beginning of the proposed divisions do seem to justify our plan. Between episodes I and II a Latin hymn is interposed. Its last two lines form a rhyming couplet. The *Transgression* also ends in a passage written in rhyming couplets (*aa, bb, cc*) and the *Expulsion* begins with a new rhyme pattern (*dde, dde*). At the close of the *Expulsion*, where we have chosen to end our

16. In most medieval plays when a text is written in *rime croisée* (*abab*) the end of an act or *journée* is usually shown by the appearance of a rhymed couplet (*aa*), the *rime croisée* being resumed at the beginning of the following passage. In the *MVT*, however, the rhyme is constantly varied. Complex verse patterns occur frequently without necessary reference to the beginning or end of dramatic units.

edition, a comparable alteration in rhyme pattern is to be observed: *abab* changes to *bbc*, *bbc*.

Much stronger justification for our divisions is offered by the subject matter. Section I (ll. 1-965) clearly deals with the creation as a whole; section II (ll. 966-1290) with Adam and Eve's sojourn in earthly paradise; section III (ll. 1291-1878) with the debate in heaven over the fate of mankind,¹⁷ the judgment and subsequent expulsion. Passage of time between the sections is suggested by the Latin hymn which concludes the *Creacion* and by the *procès de paradis* at the beginning of the *Expulsion*. The recurrence of the *procès* in lines 1644-70 and at the close of the *Expulsion* serves not so much to indicate pauses in action as to underline the fact that all men will bear the burden of original sin until "sapience divine" sees fit to amend the fate of mankind.

Of these three plays, the *Creacion* is superior to the *Transgression* and the *Expulsion* in style, dramatic impact and development. The events of the creation story which lend themselves most easily to dramatic exposition have been selected by the medieval playwright for performance. The figure of God the Creator dominates the whole play, rivalled only by that of Lucifer who seeks to make himself the equal of God. Spectacular possibilities offered by the representation of the creation of the sun and the moon, man, fish, birds and flowers, are fully exploited. One dramatic incident follows another in fairly rapid succession. Dramatic tension is heightened by the use of suitable poetry.¹⁸ The tone of the whole play is eloquent and vibrant.

The *Transgression* is the shortest of the three episodes (ll. 966-

17. This debate is frequently called the *procès de paradis*. In it we see the allegorical presentation of an argument in heaven among God, his angels and the four Virtues, or Daughters of God (*Miséricorde*, *Paix*, *Justice* and *Vérité*) over the fate of mankind. It is a scholastic device used to prove, in terms of rational argument, why it was necessary for God to allow his Son to die for the salvation of man and why man should be saved whereas Lucifer could not be. Sometimes a fifth Daughter, Sapience, was called in as arbiter. Since in the MVT we have only two Virtues, *Justice* and *Miséricorde*, involved in the debate with God one might suppose that this simpler presentation of the *procès* preceded the more complex versions of Mercadé (*Passion d'Arras*) and Greban (*Mystère de la Passion*). As the arguments presented in all three plays are essentially the same, those of Mercadé and Greban being simply more fully developed, it is difficult to say which came first. Judging by what we can determine about dates, however, as discussed in Note 3 above, the MVT was probably written by 1458. We know that Mercadé died in 1440 and that Greban's *Mystère* was well known by 1452 (see Frank, pp. 179 and 182). Therefore it seems likely that the MVT *procès* is a summary of the *procès* of Mercadé's and Greban's *Passions* rather than an *ébauche* of the latter. For a full discussion of the *procès de paradis* see Hope Traver's study.

18. See chapter VI below entitled *Rhyme and Metre*.

1290). In comparison to the great anonymous *Jeu d'Adam* of the twelfth century, where the temptation is developed into a major scene in which the psychological insight of Satan takes advantage of the feminine vanity and gullibility of Eve, this drama is primitive. Our playwright must not have known the *Jeu d'Adam* and consequently failed to make the most of the rich potential of his material. Yet Adam, Eve and Satan emerge as much more real characters than their counterparts in the Bible story.

The *Expulsion* (ll. 1291-1878) is of interest not only because its subject-matter is the inevitable result of the first two plays but also because here the playwright introduces in a modified form the *procès de paradis*.¹⁹ Used to great effect in the Passion plays by Mercadé and Greban to explain in scholastic terms the necessity for the redemption of the world by the death of Christ and also to bind together the diverse elements of these plays, the *procès* is introduced here for the same dual purpose. Critics have suggested that the *procès de paradis* was added to the *MVT* as an afterthought.²⁰ The fact that here it is joined to the surrounding passages by mnemonic rhyme and that its language and style are similar to those of the main body of our play suggests that in the *Expulsion*, at least, the *procès* formed an integral part of the work from its inception.

The *Expulsion* has qualities of dignity and emotion which make it almost equal in literary excellence to the *Creacion*. The laments of Adam and Eve (ll. 1557-66 and 1583-1600) have a poignancy not found in the *Transgression*. The characters of Adam and Eve gain new strength. Human in his resentment against Eve, Adam reproaches his wife in bitter terms (ll. 1567-82) and rues the day when she came to tempt him (ll. 1724-5). Faced with the stark fact of banishment from earthly paradise Adam applies himself to the task of laboring to win the necessities of life (ll. 1809-20).

In the scene just mentioned it is interesting to note that whereas in the Bible (*Genesis* 3, 21) it is God who made "coats of skins and clothed them," in the play it is Adam who takes this initiative. Adam's

19. For the *procès de paradis* see Note 17 above.

20. In this connection Rothschild says: "C'est au compilateur encore que nous attribuons les scènes du *Procès de Paradis*" (I, p. vi). Traver is of the same opinion (pp. 96-98).

action leads to the inclusion at the end of his speech (ll. 1819-20) of the proverb "necessity is the mother of invention." Adam, then, would seem to represent man in his age-long struggle for a better life.

Eve, on the other hand, shows herself to be penitent and passive. She admits her guilt and asks for God's pardon (l. 1727). She tries to persuade Adam that they merit their fate and must submit to God's will:

Puisqu'il plaist a Dieu prenon voye.
Adam, c'est pour nostre deserte
Que pardon le lieu plain de joye, . . .
(ll. 1774-76)

Eve's acceptance of her lot is typical of the ideal Christian attitude to human suffering emphasized by medieval church teaching.

This third part of our trilogy, then, forms a fitting climax to the other two. Starting with the portrayal of divine power in the *Creacion*, our playwrights give us in the following plays a representation of the joy, misery and dignity of man in his humanity. All three parts are influenced by the viewpoint of the fifteenth century, yet the stories they bring before us are eternal.

C. The authorship of the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion*

It has been proposed that our Creation and Transgression plays are the work of Arnoul Greban, author of a great Passion play of the fifteenth century. According to this thesis, the *Creacion* and *Transgression* of the *MVT* were originally intended to serve as the opening scene of Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* but were later replaced by the *Creacion abrégée* which appears in the manuscript published by G. Paris and G. Raynaud in 1878.²¹ The attribution of our *Creacion* and *Transgression* to Arnoul Greban is supported by the fact that in a version of Greban's *Mystère* once belonging to the Bibliothèque de Troyes the first section of the *Passion* corresponds closely to the first 1257 lines of the *MVT*.²² At the same time the material that follows these initial 1257

21. See G. Paris and G. Raynaud's edition, *Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arnoul Greban* (Paris, 1878), pp. xxv and 2.

22. See Rothschild, I, pp. xliii and xliv and note 1, p. xliv, where he refers to *manuscrit français numéro 816* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, folio 1 a.

lines in the first *journée* of the Troyes manuscript does not correspond to the contents of the first *journée* of Greban's *Passion*.²³

Although the literary excellence of the *Creacion* in the *MVT* supports the proposal that Greban may have been its author, the lesser qualities of the *Transgression*, most of which appears with the *Creacion* in the Troyes manuscript, renders this ascription doubtful. As we have noted, the *Transgression* is a rather sketchy play revealing little literary perception on the part of the author. The *Expulsion*, with its deeper emotional quality, fine lyric passages and greater realism, seems closer to Greban than does the *Transgression*; but the *Expulsion* and the last thirteen lines of the *Transgression* are omitted from the Troyes manuscript. Thus the appearance of the first 1257 lines of our trilogy in the Troyes manuscript does not make it certain that Greban was the author of all three plays.

The introduction of the *procès de paradis* might seem to tie up the *Expulsion* with the Greban *Passion*. Here, too, however, there are differences of detail. Instead of the five Virtues of the *Mystère de la Passion* we have only two in the *MVT*. The arguments, particularly those of *Miséricorde*, are more emotional in the *MVT* than those of the Virtues of the *Mystère de la Passion*. The whole concept of the *procès de paradis* is more limited in the *MVT* than it is in Greban's work.

A study of the prosody and language of our three plays is of only minimal help in determining authorship. In the *Creacion* the style is more vigorous, the versification more effective, and the phrases more forceful than in the other two plays. Similarities of rhyme schemes in the *Creacion* and Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* support the suggestion that Greban was the author of both.²⁴ For the most part these similarities do not persist in the other parts of the trilogy. A study of the language²⁵ shows only that in this respect the *Creacion*, *Transgression*, and *Expulsion*, like Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*, are typical of the mid-fifteenth century.

It would seem, then, that we can say only that Arnoul Greban may well have written the *Creacion* of the *MVT* but that the authorship of

23. G. Paris and G. Raynaud, p. xxv.

24. See chapter VI below on metre and rhyme.

25. See chapter VII below on language.

the *Transgression* and *Expulsion* is unknown; if the latter works were not composed by Greban they were done by playwrights who were contemporaries of Greban but somewhat less gifted than he.

Whoever the authors of our three plays, they produced works of lasting value. Their task, to bring to the stage three of the most tremendous stories of all times, was awe-inspiring. Appealing to the imaginative capacities of their audience, they set forth in simple terms the mysteries of the creation of the universe and man's fall. In so doing they called upon all resources familiar to them, practiced their poetic skills as best they could, and left us a precious monument of the faith, philosophy and common sense of the fifteenth century.

II. EDITIONS

A. *Previous editions*

As we mentioned in the preceding chapter, no manuscript of the *MVT* has been preserved; the complete work is known to us only through three early prints (which I designate as A, B and C), all dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. Although other copies of plays apparently related to sections of the *MVT* exist, the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* have come down to us as a unit only in the early prints of the complete *MVT*.¹

Print A

The earliest known edition, dating from about 1500,² bears the following *incipit* and *explicit*:

Le mistere du viel testa//me't par persõnages joue//a paris
hystorie et impri//me nouvellement audit//lieu auquel sont
cõtenus//les misteres cy apres de//clairez

This first paragraph, which serves as an *incipit* for the whole *MVT*, is followed by a table of contents of the work. Then we read:

Sensuit par personnages cõment//dieu nostre souverain et puis-
sant//seigneur crea le ciel et la terre Avecqs//toutes choses
celestes et terriennes En//semble aussi la creacion de lhomme
et//de la femme avecques plusieurs au//tres ystoires de la bible
et est intitule//ce present volume le viel testament

Cy finist le viel testame't per [*sic*] personnaiges joue//a paris
Et imprime nouvellement audit lieu Par//maistre Pierre le dru³

1. For a discussion of the parallel version of the *Creacion* and *Transgression* corresponding to ll. 1-1257 of the *MVT* found in the Troyes manuscript see Chapter I above. Early editions of plays dealing with the stories of Abraham, Joseph and Susanna are listed by Rothschild, I, pp. xxviii-xxxiv.

2. The date of the first print is that given by Petit de Julleville, II, p. 353; Rothschild, I, p. xxi; and Frank, p. 194.

3. Pierre le Dru was a printer in Paris in 1488 and had his business in the *rue S. Jacques près les Mathurins*. See P. Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, . . . à Paris de 1450 à 1600* (Paris, 1901), p. 161. Rothschild says Pierre le Dru was active in Paris from 1494 to 1509 (Rothschild, I, p. xxvii). According to Rothschild, other copies of A were printed by Pierre le Dru to be distributed by "jehan petit, libraire iu//re de luniversite de paris demourant en la rue sai't//iaques a lenseigne du lion dargent" (Rothschild, I, pp. xxi and xxii).

pour Geoffroy de marnef li//braire iure de luniversite de paris
demourant en la//rue saint iagues a lenseigne du pellican.⁴

This print is done in gothic type with double columns and about fifty lines on a page. A title giving the topic treated is centered at the top of each page. The work covers 336 folios. The material included in our present edition is contained in folios 1 to 16 inclusive.

The print of the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* is illustrated by the following woodcuts:⁵

1. Fol. 2 r^o God creates the world (found only in edition A).
2. Fol. 2 v^o God creates the angelic host (repeated in editions B and C as B3 and C2).
3. Fol. 6 r^o God creates the sun, moon and stars (repeated as B4 and C3).
4. Fol. 6 v^o God creates the birds, fish and a leviathan (repeated as B5 and C4).
5. Fol. 7 v^o God with Adam and Eve in earthly paradise (repeated as C5).
6. Fol. 10 r^o Eve and the serpent (found only in A).
7. Fol. 10 v^o Full page illustration showing earthly paradise. Adam and Eve both hold apples and fig leaves (found only in A).
8. Fol. 12 r^o *Procès de paradis*: God attended by five Virtues, *Vérité*, *Justice*, *Sapience*, *Miséricorde* and *Paix* (found only in A).

4. Geoffroy (or Geoffray) de Marnef, a Parisian *libraire-juré*, is known to have purchased in 1508 "la maison du Pélican au coin des rues Saint-Jacques et du Foin" (Renouard, p. 185). Rothschild (I, p. xxii) has found references to Geoffroy de Marnef in Paris from 1491 to 1526.

5. The illustrations of print A seem to have been derived from two sources as they reveal different workmanship and concepts. Numbers 1 to 4, 6, 9 and 10 would seem to have been done by the same artist. These illustrations are fairly crude; the features and other lines are heavy. God's bare head is surrounded by a halo. Satan, disguised as a serpent with a female body, has horns and wings. In numbers 5, 7 and 8 the lines are much finer, the background is filled with delicate detail. God wears a crown and carries an orb surmounted by a cross; the serpent, gracefully wound around a slender tree, has a woman's upper body, no horns, and no wings. It is interesting to note that the illustration of the *procès de paradis* (A8) must have been prepared for another work (perhaps for an edition of Greban's *Passion*?) because five Virtues, *Vérité*, *Justice*, *Sapience*, *Miséricorde* and *Paix*, appear instead of the two, *Miséricorde* and *Justice* found in our plays. There is also a great similarity of style between A8 and an illustration of a Paris missal of 1481 reproduced in *Le Livre illustré au XVe siècle*, by Leo S. Olschki (Florence, 1926), number 117.

9. Fol. 14 v^o An angel bearing a sword drives Adam and Eve from earthly paradise (found only in A).

This earliest print is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris under the number "YF Réserve 11." It will be referred to in this study as A, the designation given to it by Rothschild.

The title page of the copy of print A used in the preparation of this edition is printed in red and black and bears a woodcut of the trademark (*marque*) of Geoffroy de Marnef: a picture of a pelican and the word *pellican* are situated in the upper left-hand corner; the words *de Marnef* are written at the bottom; a device resembling a candle and a cross stands in the centre. This same device is to be found in the lower left-hand corner of the eighth illustration of edition A.⁶

Print B

The second print ("YF Réserve 102-103" of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) dates from about 1520.⁷ It is called B by Rothschild and this designation will be kept in the present edition. It is bound in two volumes, each volume having an *incipit* but only Volume I an *explicit*. The *incipits* and *explicit* run as follows:

Incipit Volume I

Sensuit le mistere//du viel Testament//Par personnaiges//Hystorie et joue a pa//ris Et imprime nouvel//lement audit lieu. Auquel sont contenus les//misteres comment les enfans disrael parti//rent degipte Et passerent par la mer Rouge//et conqui- rent la terre sainte Avec plusieurs//autres belles hystoires. Côme il est cy apres//Declarez En la table de ce present livre

This paragraph is followed by a list of all the plays contained in this volume.

Incipit Volume II

Sensuit le second vo//lume du viel Testa//me't par Personnai//ges cōtenant huyt hystoi//res de la bible cest assavoir//Lhystoire de job Lhystoi//re de thobie Lhystoire de daniel Lhystoire de//

6. This *marque* is different from that given by M. P. Delalain for the *frères Marnef* (*Inventaire des marques d'Imprimeurs et de Libraires* [Paris, 1892]), p. 29.

7. The date of B is that given by Petit de Julleville, II, p. 353 and Rothschild, I, p. xxiv.

susanne Lhystoire de judich Lhystoire de he//ster Lhystoire de
Octovien e'pereur et la sibil//le thiburtine Et les p'phcies des
douze sibil//les Et plusieurs aultres matieres Come il ap//pert
par la table sequente

Explicit Volume I

Cy finist le p'mier volume du viel//testame't Par persõnaiges
Joue a//Paris et imprime audit lieu Par la veufve//feu jehan
trepperel et jehan jehãnot Librai//re et imprimeur Demourant
En la rue neuf//ve nostre dame A lenseigne de lescu de France⁸

Edition B has 294 folios, the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* occupying folios 1 through 17 inclusive. Like A, B is done in gothic print in double columns, about forty lines to a page. A title appears at the top of each page. B is less carefully executed than A. Letters are frequently inverted or confused; capital letters are not always used where they would be expected. One whole section (ll. 983-1085) is omitted and another (ll. 228-350) is included out of order.

The section of print B containing our three plays has nine woodcuts:

1. On the title page, God surrounded by his angels and four Virtues, *Paix*, *Miséricorde*, *Justice* and *Vérité* (repeated as B7 and C7).
2. On the *verso* of the second unnumbered page, the creation of the world (repeated as C1).
3. Fol. 1 v^o The creation of the angels (same as A2 and C2).
4. Fol. 6 r^o Creation of the sun and stars (same as A3 and C3).
5. Fol. 6 v^o Creation of the birds and fish (same as A4 and C4).
6. Fol. 8 r^o The creation of Eve (found only in B).
7. Fol. 12 v^o God in his glory (same woodcut as is found on the title page).
8. Fol. 15 v^o Adam and Eve driven from earthly paradise (same as C8).
9. Fol. 31 v^o Angel standing at the gate of earthly paradise (found only in B).

8. From 1512-22 the widow of Jehan Trepperel (who died in 1511) and her son-in-law, Jehan Jehannot, were associates. They had their business at the "rue neufve nostre dame, a l'enseigne de l'escu de France" (see E. Droz *Le Recueil Trepperel*, I, *Les Sotties* [Paris, 1935], pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

Print C

The third edition, dated 1542, is identified as C by Rothschild; this same designation will be retained here. It is listed in the Bibliothèque Nationale as "YF Réserve 67." Our three plays occupy folios 1 through 16 inclusive of this edition. The text is again in gothic print, arranged in double columns with about fifty-two lines on a page. Each page bears a title.

In this print, published almost half a century later than A, there are many modernizations of the language and some attempts to indicate punctuation. Periods are sometimes introduced at the end of sentences, proper names are capitalized and sometimes slashes (/) indicate pauses where commas might occur in modern usage. When A and B offer a text that is obscure (see for example notes to ll. 1316-20, 1457, 1501) C endeavors to elucidate the meaning by suitable changes. The *incipit* and *explicit* of C read as follows:

Incipit:

Le tresexcelle't et saint my//stere du vieil testament par person-
nages/ouquel sont contenues les hy//stoires de la Bible. reveu et
corrige de nouveau/ et im//prime avecques les figures pour-
plus//facille intelligence nouvelle//ment imprime a//Paris

Lan mil cinq cens quarante et deux.

On les vend a Paris en la rue saint Jacques a lymage Saint Mar-
tin par/Vivant gaultherot⁹

Next the characters are listed in a *table* and then the *incipit* continues:

Se'suyt par personnages//Cōment dieu nostre souverain et puis-
sant seigneur crea le ciel et la terre.//Avecques toutes choses
celestes et terriennes ensemble aus//si la creation de l'homme et
de la femme avec//ques les hystoires de la Bible et est//intitule
ce present volume//le vieil testament.

9. Vivant Gautherot, *libraire*, was active in Paris from 1534 to 1553. He had his shop "au second pilier de la grand' salle du Palais" (Delalain, pp. 38-39). The *marque* and *devise* given by Delalain for Gautherot, however, are not those in our edition, where the *marque* is non-pictorial and the *devise* is *qua jata vocant*. Rothschild lists as alternatives found in other copies of C: "On les vend a Paris en la grant salle du Palays au premier pillier//par Charles langellier;—ou On les vend a Paris au palais en la gallerie par ou on va//a la Chancellerie par Vincent Sertenas;—ou On les vend a Paris au clos Bruneau//par Guillaume le bret." See Rothschild, I, p. xxvi.

Explicit:

Fin du vieil testament par per//sonnages/reveu et corrige oul//
tre la precede'te impression/ Nou//vellement imprime a Paris
par//Jehan Real Lan mil cinq cens//quarente et deux.¹⁰

Edition C contains the following woodcuts to illustrate the first three sections of the *Mistère*:

1. Fol. 2 r° Creation of the world (like B2).
2. Fol. 3 r° Creation of the angels (like B3 and A2).
3. Fol. 6 v° Creation of sun and stars (like B4 and A3).
4. Fol. 7 r° Creation of the birds and fish (like B5 and A4).
5. Fol. 8 r° Creation of Adam and Eve (like A5).
6. Fol. 11 r° Temptation of Adam and Eve (found only in C).
7. Fol. 12 r° God with the Virtues and his angels (like B1 and B7).
8. Fol. 14 v° Adam and Eve driven from earthly paradise (like B8).¹¹

Edition R

The only more modern edition of the *MVT* is that, mentioned above, by Baron James de Rothschild (completed by Emile Picot), published in six volumes in Paris between 1878 and 1891, by the *Société des anciens textes français*. We designate this edition as R. Rothschild has divided the *mistère* into forty-nine chapters, following natural breaks in the continuity of the subject matter. He has provided each chapter with a summary of the action, some critical remarks (which often concern the relationships between these Old Testament plays and Jewish

10. The only reference we have been able to find to anyone called Jean Réal is dated 1582 ("31 mai 1582—Jean Real, relieur, échange avec Mathurin de Bourges des droits sur une maison . . ."). See Renouard, p. 228.

11. As has been indicated in the listing of the illustrations of the three early editions, most of those found in one edition appear in one or other of the remaining two. The earliest edition, A, has the most pictures not found in the other two (A1, A6, A7, A8 and A9). In B numbers 6 and 9 are unique; in C only number 6 is not to be found in one or other of the previous editions. Although the borrowing of illustrations in the two later editions is interesting, it is apparently too haphazard to establish any direct relationship of one text to another. The recurrence of illustrations merely provides further evidence to support the conclusion that will be reached by other aspects of this study, namely that both B and C are closely related to A.

tradition), and a list of subsequent plays in French or other languages dealing with the same topics.

Interesting as Rothschild's introductory remarks often are, they do not furnish the critical insight demanded of a modern edition. Since he is publishing the whole work he cannot examine in detail the many literary problems offered by the individual sections. He does little to place the plays in the evolution of French drama or French thought; he has made no study of the language, the poetry, nor of the staging of the plays. He sees the various plays of the composite work only as parts of the whole, not as artistic entities. His edition is invaluable because it includes the complete *MVT*; yet it needs to be supplemented by the publication of at least some sections of the *MVT* annotated and analyzed according to modern critical practices.¹²

B. *The present edition*

The present edition has been prepared after study of the three early prints, "YF réserve 11," "YF réserve 102-103" and "YF réserve 67" at the Bibliothèque Nationale and further consultation of these texts by means of microfilm copies. Rothschild's edition has also been referred to constantly. We have taken as our basic text that of print A, comparing with it the readings of B, C and R. With only a few exceptions our text has been transcribed as it appears in A. Abbreviations have been expanded, where possible in accordance with spellings of the same words found elsewhere in the work written out in full. Modern punctuation and capitalization have been added. Sometimes *u*'s, *v*'s and *n*'s have been confused by the printers or earlier scribes. Similarly *i*'s and *j*'s are used somewhat indiscriminately. These letters have been transcribed in accordance with modern usage. Occasionally a letter or a word appears in the text through error, or something is omitted. In a few instances a word included does not make sense. Usually reference to one or other of the later editions throws light on what the original reading must have been; in such cases changes have been made in our text, the alterations being enclosed in square brackets and notes provided to give the original readings.

12. My opinion is shared by M. Omer Jodogne. In his discussion of the *MVT* (*Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*, Paris, 1964) he says: "A vrai dire, on n'a pas encore étudié ces oeuvres qu'il faudrait détacher de l'ensemble comme on l'a fait pour les oeuvres du manuscrit de Sainte-Geneviève" (p. 543).

Significant variants between readings of A and those of B, C or R—that is, those which bring out differences in language or meaning as well as those which reveal noteworthy errors on the part of earlier editors—have been listed. Not noted are mere differences of spelling. An identical word immediately following or preceding the variant has been given in order to facilitate placing the variant in context. Notes and glossary have been added to aid in the comprehension of the text.

The names of speakers are given in italics, stage directions in small capitals. Spacing between lines of the text points up a change of scene. The first word of a new scene is also marked by an asterisk. Indications as to the position of illustrations in the text and the subject-matter of these illustrations are given in italics and enclosed in square brackets.

In our introduction we have endeavored to present the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* in their proper relationship to medieval French drama in general and to the *MVT* in particular. We have studied, at the same time, the importance of these works as plays in their own right. The problems of authorship and sources have been examined. Working from the rubrics of the plays and our knowledge of contemporary stage practices we have indicated the probable method of bringing these plays to the stage. The extent to which our playwrights were successful in character portrayal has been studied as has also the versification. Finally the language has been analyzed to validate the ascription of the original versions of these plays to the fifteenth century.

III. SOURCES

The ultimate and major source of all sections of the *MVT* is, of course, the Bible. Yet the three plays with which we are dealing, and particularly the *Creacion*, are more than simple dramatizations of *Genesis*. Already in the introductory verses (ll. 1-32), where the creation of the empyrean heaven and the four elements is presented, the playwright digresses from *Genesis*. Next comes a spectacular scene (ll. 33-573), also foreign to *Genesis*, revealing the creation of the hierarchies of angels and the fall of Lucifer. Later scenes (ll. 1292-1556, 1617-70, and 1831-78), comprising the *procès de paradis*, are also extraneous to the Bible.

Even in the sections which are closely related to *Genesis* many variants occur. For instance, the order of creation in the drama is frequently different from that of the Biblical account. As an example one might mention the dramatic version of the work of the second day, which includes the creation of the earth, seas and fish. These elements are given in *Genesis* as the labor of the second, third and fifth days. Similarly in the play we find God forming only the sun and the moon on the third day whereas in *Genesis* He creates the sun and moon together with the stars, and all of them on the fourth day rather than the third.

In the *Transgression* and the *Expulsion* fewer differences from *Genesis* are apparent, although some do exist. For instance in the play the order of curses cast upon Eve is the reverse of that found in *Genesis*.¹ Also, when Adam and Eve are driven from earthly paradise they go out to the *champ damascene* (l. 1632), a place not designated in *Genesis*. At the end of the *Expulsion*, following the debate among God, his angels and the Virtues, Adam and Eve are proffered some hope of eventual pardon (ll. 1714-15), a solace not included in *Genesis*.

It is impossible to point to a single source for these various additions to, or digressions from, *Genesis*. The great scene showing the creation of the orders of angels and the sin of Lucifer dramatizes a tradition widely accepted in the middle ages. Düriez, in his study *La Théologie dans le drame religieux*, cites numerous church fathers (among them

1. *Genesis* 3:16 reads: "Mulieri quocq. dixit : Multiplicabo aerumnas tuas et conceptus tuos. In dolore paries filios et sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui" (*Pentateuchus Moysi*, Parisiis in officina Simonis Colinaei, 1527, 6 r°).

St. Gregory, St. Bonaventura and St. Thomas) who contributed to the teachings of the church in this connection.² Comparable spectacles are to be found in many medieval English creation plays.³ The introductory verses (ll. 1-32) are clearly dramatic developments of the title of the first chapter of the twelfth-century retelling of the Bible by Petrus Comestor: *De Creatione empyrei et quatuor elementorum*.⁴ Comestor or his translator into French, Guyart des Moulins, may also be responsible for some other digressions from *Genesis*. In Comestor, for instance, when Eve is cursed, the words *sub potestate viri eris* precede the second curse: *in dolore paries*.⁵ This is the order of the curses reproduced in the play (ll. 1519-31). Likewise Comestor specifies that Adam and Eve are driven *in agrum scilicet Damascenum*,⁶ which is paralleled by the words in the play *au champ damascene* (l. 1632).

Other variants from *Genesis* may often be attributed to the whim or needs of the playwrights. In the play much attention is paid to those details of the creation which can be presented on the stage most effectively. Thus when the "seas" are created they are demonstrated to contain fish:

Adoncques se doit monstrer comme une mer . . . et des poissons
dedans icelle mer (l. 595r.).

Likewise when "land" is created, trees and flowers which grow thereon appear:

Adoncques doit on faire sortir petis arbres, rainseaulx et le plus
de belles fleurs selon la saison qu'i[l] sera possible (l. 605r.).

2. G. Dürieux, *La Théologie dans le drame religieux en Allemagne au moyen âge* (Paris, 1914). On the creation of the hierarchies of angels see pp. 47-49; on Lucifer see pp. 62-81.

3. Creation episodes are important in the Chester, York and Coventry plays.

4. L'abbé Migne, *Patres Latini* Vol. 198 (Paris, 1855), *Historia scholastica magistri Petri Comestoris*, p. 1055. Comestor wrote his version of the Bible, combining Biblical incidents and commentary on them, in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century a French translation of Comestor, with additions and variants, was given by Guyart des Moulins in his *Bible historique*. Although des Moulins usually followed closely Comestor's text he sometimes abbreviated it, explained it, or added to it. The first chapter of des Moulins, for instance, combines the first two of Comestor under the heading "La Creacion du ciel empiree et des quatre elements et de la première confusion de monde" (*manuscrit fonds français 3*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, folio 2 v°). Expanded versions of the work of des Moulins remained popular throughout the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth (see S. Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge* [Paris, 1884], pp. 157-269). Although there is not any clear evidence in this section of the MVT that des Moulins' Bible rather than Comestor's *Historia scholastica* was the Biblical text known to our playwrights, one or other of them was obviously a primary source of the plays.

5. *Historia scholastica*, p. 1074.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1075.

The presence of the fish in the water and of the plants on the earth serves to confirm for the audience the nature of the creation and to enhance its dramatic interest.

The methods used to bring to the stage parts of the creation no doubt explain other differences between the play and *Genesis*. The text of the drama suggests that the sun and moon were painted on one great backdrop provided to show the creation of the sun and moon on the third day (see ll. 610-13 and rubrics to ll. 614 and 618). Before and after the appearance of this property a *pause* is indicated, probably to allow time for its setting up and removal. After the second *pause* we read:

Quartement mettrons, par bon erre,
Les estoilles au ciel de lassus.
(ll. 624-5)

Shortly thereafter a rubric states:

Adoncques se doit monstrer ung ciel painct tout semé d'estoilles
et les noms des planettes (l. 631r.).

Then:

Puis vespre et matin determine
Et aussi le quart jour termine.
(ll. 632-3)

Thus the demands of staging seem to regulate the order of creation. Evidently the stars were painted on a backdrop different from the one showing the sun and moon. Because of the difficulty of handling properties, the playwright designated the creation of the sun and the moon as the work of the third day, that of the stars the fourth day. He followed the dictates of his profession rather than his source in *Genesis*, which has the creation of the sun, moon and stars taking place together on the fourth day.

As has been noted in Chapter I, the *procès de paradis* (ll. 1291-1556, 1617-70, and 1831-78) is clearly an introduction of two themes very popular in the fifteenth century.⁷ The *procès* is used structurally to link the sections of the work and dialectically to explain the condemnation

⁷. See note 17, Chapter I.

and redemption of mankind. As a natural result of the pleadings of *Miséricorde* comes the subsequent digression from *Genesis*, a veiled promise of eventual salvation uttered by *Cherubin*:

Ouï, vostre paix est tractable
Envers Dieu, mais pas encoire.
(ll. 1714-15)

The optimistic note also reflects on the one hand the medieval insistence on the fact that Christ came as the second Adam to atone for the sins of the first, and on the other the playwright's desire to relate Old Testament events to those of the New Testament.

As sources of our plays we can specify, then, the Bible, probably known in, or supplemented by, the retelling of Comestor or one of his translators; the writings of the Church fathers and generally accepted beliefs springing from such writings; and contemporary French drama. Elements of the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* which are different alike from these diverse sources and from *Genesis* are probably attributable to the endeavors of the playwrights to bring complex stories most effectively to the stage. Our authors were not great scholars but they were familiar with the theological teachings and dramatic needs and practices of their time.

IV. STAGING

The staging required for the first three sections of the *MVT* was a combination of traditional components and original improvisations. Medieval French plays were regularly presented with simultaneous staging, all scenes of action being visible on the stage at the same time.¹ The usual basic setting was composed of three parts: an elevated platform, commonly at the left, to represent heavenly paradise; a large central space, the stage proper, where the localized "mansions" would be erected and most of the action takes place; and at the right either a "gueule d'enfer" or a jail-like structure to represent hell.

This primary *mise en scène* with modifications would serve also for the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion*. Because of the importance of God and His angels in the creation scene and the appearance in the *Expulsion* of the *procès de paradis*, the platform representing heavenly paradise must have been large and lofty. In its central position would be God's throne, surrounded by tiers of benches on which would be seated the angelic host. As God creates the angels we are told they come and seat themselves in "sieges aornez par droicture pour collauder le manoir honorable" (ll. 39-40). The movements of the angels and the order in which they appear are precisely stated in the text and rubrics (ll. 40-60 and l. 60r.).

The main body of the stage must have had two parts, one section, probably close to heavenly paradise at the left, designed to represent earthly paradise, and the other, earth. Clear directions are given as to how earthly paradise was adorned. A rubric tells us it is to be "bien garny de toutes fleurs, arbres, fruitcz et autres plaisances, et au meillieu l'arbre de vie plus excellent que tous les autres" (l. 649r.). Among the trees was a fig tree from which Adam and Eve could pick leaves to clothe themselves when they realized their nakedness; the Tree of Life was supplied with at least one apple that could be plucked by Eve and

1. The authority on the staging of medieval French plays still remains Gustave Cohen. He has published two major works on the subject: *Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris, 1926) and *Le Livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour 'le Mystère de la Passion' joué à Mons en 1501* (Paris, 1925). Also of interest is the study of Dorothy Penn, *The Staging of the 'Miracles de Nostre Dame'* (New York, 1933). Once familiarity with the general practices followed in the staging of medieval French plays has been gained, the best source of information on the staging of any particular play is its own rubrics and text.

given by her to Adam. It is probable that when the play opened, earthly paradise was hidden by a curtain, for at the moment when God is to create this realm we read: "Adoncques *se doit monstrier un beau Paradis terrestre*" (l. 649r.).

Within earthly paradise are shown and labelled the four rivers, Phison, Gyon, Tigris and Euphrates. These are represented as four streams "comme a maniere de petites fontaines, lesquelles soient aux quatre parties du Paradis terrestre" (l. 657r.).²

It was no doubt in the main section of the stage that the action of the creation took place; here, too, was localized the life of Adam and Eve after the Expulsion. We shall discuss later the special devices revealed by the stage directions for use in the various steps of creation. As additional permanent properties in the center stage we must mention a mound of earth, the "clay" from which God will form Adam, and a large pool of water, such as was found in many of the fourteenth-century Miracle plays,³ to represent the sea.

That hell was included in the staging is clear from the scene where Lucifer and his companions, having committed the sin of pride, fall from heaven and are dragged off to eternal damnation. We are given no indications as to how hell was represented. We are told, however, that fire and wind emerge from hell ("lesquelz [les Dyables] en menant grande tempeste getteront feu du dit Enfer," l. 439r.). This would suggest that the traditional "gueule d'enfer," noisy and smoking, was utilized in our *Mistère*.

It will be seen, then, that the skeletal setting of our three plays need have been only that of the traditional religious drama, with the possible exception of the size of the scaffolding used for heavenly paradise. Against this sober background, however, many ingenious properties were introduced in order to show the marvels of the Creation. These will now be discussed.

In his first creative act God made the empyrean heaven; a flame-colored backdrop was lowered for this purpose. So we read: "Adonc

2. The illustration representing earthly paradise in print A (A7) shows a single large fountain with several (probably four, but not all are visible) outlets.

3. Frequently these pools were large enough so that little boats could float, and even move, on them. See G. Cohen, *La Mise en scène*, pp. 155-56 and D. Penn, p. 19.

se doit tirer ung ciel de couleur de feu auquel sera escript: *Celum empireum*" (l. 20r.).

Next are created the four elements. Directions tell us that at the moment when fire is created: "Adoncques se doit getter grandes flambes de feu" (l. 26r.). No hint is given as to how the advent of the other elements, air, water and earth, might be shown.

When Lucifer appears among the angels he is distinguished from the others by having "un grant soleil resplendissant darriere luy" (l. 60r.). As he and his companions exalt themselves we are told of "une roue secretement faicte dessus ung [pivos] a vis" (l. 407r.) which would raise them to a position equal to that of the throne of God.

Accompanied by the music of the angelic host (l. 573r.) God now proceeds to the creation of the world. Night and day are shown by a cloth painted "la moityé toute blanche et l'autre toute noire" (l. 582r.).

When the sea is created the pond, mentioned above as forming part of the permanent stage structure, but which must somehow have been hidden from the audience during the first lines of the text, was uncovered:

"Adoncques se doit *monstrer* comme une mer, *qui par avant ayt esté couverte* et des poissons dedans icelle mer" (l. 595r.).

As God speaks the words that bring to life the fish we are told: "Lors doit on secretement faire monstrer et saulter poissons" (l. 600r.).

The method used to show the creation of trees and plants is left vague. We read merely: "Adoncques doit on faire sortir petis arbres, rainseaulx et le plus de belles fleurs, *selon la saison* qu'i[l] sera possible (l. 605r.). The words *selon la saison* show that actual plants were somehow erected or revealed on the stage at the proper moment.

Next to be added to the universe are the sun and the moon, "la lune plus bas que le soleil" (l. 618r.). Now a new backdrop is required, to represent the creation of the stars ("ung ciel painct, tout semé d'estoilles et les noms des planettes," l. 631r.).

On the fifth day, when birds and beasts are created, live creatures appear: "Adoncques doit on secretement getter petits oyseaulx volans en l'air et mettre sur terre oysons cynes, canes, coqs, poules et autres

oyseaulx, avecques le plus de bestes estranges que on pourra trouver" (l. 637r.).

With the advent of the sixth day the physical setting for the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* has been established. From now on stage directions will concern actions rather than properties. So for the creation of Adam, God takes clay from the mound of earth provided in the central stage and immediately Adam arises and stands motionless before his Creator (l. 697r.).⁴ God breathes three times in Adam's face. Adam comes to life and kneels before his Maker (l. 709r.). Now God prepares to create Eve from Adam's rib. When Adam has lain down, God "doit faire maniere de prendre une des costes de Adam et faire la benediction dessus et puis, en soy baissant, sera produite Eve sur terre" (l. 763r.).

In the *Transgression* we read that Satan is to be "vestu d'un habit en maniere de serpent et le visage de pucelle" (l. 1045r.). Later we are told he is to wind himself around the Tree of Life (l. 1061r.). Eve is instructed to pluck an apple from the tree (l. 1127r.). When Adam bites into the apple proffered by Eve we read: "puis se prent par la gorge" (l. 1167r.). When Adam and Eve realize their nakedness, their actions as well as their words bespeak their shame:

Adoncques doit Adam couvrir son humanité, faignant avoir honte (l. 1245r.).

and:

Icy se doit semblablement vergongner la femme et se musser de sa main (l. 1249r.).

Finally Adam and Eve gather fig leaves to cover themselves (ll. 1250-1) and hide (ll. 1252-3).

Stage directions are almost totally lacking in the *Expulsion*, only two appearing in the whole play and these being of little significance:

Icy s'en retourne l'ange (l. 1764r.)

and:

4. It is possible that at this point and also a few lines later, when Eve is created, the people playing the roles of Adam and Eve came onto the stage by means of trap doors; in this way they could arise suddenly from the ground without having previously been visible to the audience.

Icy se vont vestir de peaulx (l. 1820r.).

The appearance of the angel with the flaming sword, the expulsion from earthly paradise, and the *procès de paradis*, although all are clearly indicated by the words of the characters, remain without comment in the rubrics.

The revealing stage directions of the *Creacion* show how, by means of crude suggestions and with the help of the imagination and faith of the audience, the creation could be brought to life for the medieval audience. The basic settings, heaven, hell, and a large acting area, were those regularly used in medieval French drama. To them were added unusual properties, signs and symbols which served to evoke the vast panorama. Once the setting was established in the *Creacion*, the playwrights confined themselves mainly to indicating suitable actions for the characters. Towards the end of the trilogy much was left to the ingenuity of the directors of the plays and the interpretative skill of the actors themselves.

V. CHARACTERIZATION

Although the characters in our plays could have been stylized, they actually stand out with considerable individuality. The dominant figure in all three plays is, of course, God. He appears first as the all-powerful creator who yet takes an almost human delight in his creations. He speaks with satisfaction of his angelic hosts (ll. 57-60) and admires the world he has created (ll. 666-69 and *passim*). He is sympathetic in creating Eve as a helpmate for Adam and rejoices in the good things He has given his two humans for their enjoyment (ll. 845 and following).

After Adam and Eve have sinned, a new side of God's character emerges. He is obliged to become the judge who must punish evildoers:

Il a osé menger de celle pomme
 Que j'avoye deffendu seullement;
 C'est bien raison que pecheur je le nomme
 Et que de droit le destruié et consomme
 Qui transgressé a mon commandement.
 (ll. 1295-9)

In the sections of the *procès de paradis* God's reactions to the opposing arguments of *Justice* and *Miséricorde* are realistically portrayed. First he promises to give both a fair hearing:

Dictes, je vous escouteray
 Avant que de donner sentence,
 Et juste jugement feray
 Que on verra par experience.
 (ll. 1349-52)

While God realizes that Man by his sin merits eternal damnation, yet in response to *Miséricorde's* pleading He agrees to give some consideration to the fact that Adam and Eve are repentant (ll. 1453-54 and 1648-51). He metes out the punishment they have earned (ll. 1514-40) but, yielding to mercy, sends his angel to give mankind hope of ultimate salvation:

CHARACTERIZATION

. . . je vous assure
Que Dieu vous promet et acorde
Par sa grande misericorde
Une fois de vous faire grace.

(ll. 1761-64)

God is shown, then, to be a Being full of delight in his creation, loving his creatures, just in his punishment, but swayed in the end by compassion.

Lucifer, the second figure to play an important, if brief, role, appears traditionally first as the greatest of angels and then as the forerunner of Adam in committing the sin of pride. Lucifer's early entrances are always associated with the light that surrounds his person. As God creates Lucifer He says:

Toy, Lucifer, au divin consistoire,
Auras ce nom par grace singuliere,
Pour demonstrier, par vertus meritoire,
Que devant tours seras portant lumiere.

(ll. 65-8)

Lucifer is aware of his radiance, for he speaks of himself as being "resplendissant sur ceulx de ma semblance" (l. 230) and adds: "sur tous ceulx j'ay noble refulgence" (l. 235). Lucifer's angels also underline this quality of light when they speak of his "perfecte lumiere" (l. 309) and mention:

La lueur resplendissant et clere
De quoy vous estes environné

(ll. 310-11)

This reiteration of the glory of the prince of angels emphasizes his greatness before his fall.

As soon as Lucifer aspires to be the equal of God he is cast down by the archangel Michael. Now the former prince of angels becomes as loquacious in his lamentations as he had been in his aspirations to greatness. He is so eloquent, indeed, that one might believe that our playwright considered specious talk as a sign of vanity.

Although Lucifer's personality is not so fully portrayed as is that

of God, the fallen angel's vainglory, ambition and garrulousness are realistically presented.

Two allegorical characters are *Justice* and *Miséricorde*. They play the roles of prosecuting and defending attorneys in the "trial" of Adam, Eve and the Serpent presented in the *procès de paradis*. *Justice*, speaking generally in sweeping lines, argues that man's sin is equal to that of Lucifer and that it was committed for the same reason, ambition. She declares that Adam has sinned "par triple forme" and enumerates "la premiere offence, l'offence seconde" and "la tierce villenie." Each argument is developed in logical sequence, as a lawyer might elaborate his case against the accused. *Miséricorde*, speaking plaintively in lines frequently broken by the exclamations "las!" or "helas," pleads the human frailty of Adam which led him to yield to the persuasions of his wife. The emotional appeals of *Miséricorde* balance the reasoned arguments of *Justice*. Although *Justice* and *Miséricorde* are not the fully elaborated figures with distinct personalities that are found in the comparable but more developed *procès* of Greban's *Passion*, yet our playwright has differentiated the two and given each some life.

The only purely human figures in our plays are Adam and Eve. In comparison with the dour Adam and winsome Eve of the twelfth-century *Jeu d'Adam* our Adam and Eve are somewhat pale creatures, mouthpieces of lyric utterances rather than realistic beings. Yet occasionally they rise to verity. In the brief temptation scene (ll. 1066-1167) Adam, Eve and Satan all take on real personalities. When Satan speaks to Eve the latter's excitement is revealed by the rush of her words:

Je suis par admiracion
Fichee en pertubacion
D'avoir cy celle voix ouïe.

(ll. 1069-71)

When Satan reveals himself in the Tree of Life Eve continues:

De rechief suis toute esbahye. . .

(l. 1075)

Now Satan gives his explanation as to why God forbade Adam and Eve the fruit of the Tree of Life:

CHARACTERIZATION

Vray est que Dieu sçait sans doubance
Quant vous en mengerez, vous deux,
Que vous aurez la cognoissance
De ses haulx secretz vertueux;
Car lors seront ouvers les yeulx
De vostre arbitre liberal,
Et serez ainsi que deux dieux,
Congnoissans tout bien et tout mal.

(ll. 1112-19)

Once Eve's curiosity and desire for broader experience are aroused, she is not content until she has bitten into the forbidden fruit. Delighted with both its savor and the promises of greater wisdom (ll. 1128-39), she hurries off to share her adventure with Adam, oblivious to God's prohibition. Eve assures Adam that had it not been for her wifely devotion she would already have been far removed from him:

Et, ce ne fust pour vous attendre,
Je fusse ja au ciel lassus; . . .

(ll. 1156-57)

She urges her husband to eat the apple that he, too, may enjoy its virtues:

Tenez, mangez sans tarder plus,
Puis nous irons entre nous deux,
Car nous aurons telles vertus
Que nous serons comme deux dieux.

(ll. 1160-63)

Adam yields to his wife's beguilings, eats and is immediately overcome with remorse. The lyric tone, dominant throughout the rest of this play, is now resumed.

As noted in Chapter I above, the characters of Adam and Eve are more profoundly portrayed in the *Expulsion* than in the *Transgression*. After their banishment from earthly paradise, the unhappy couple's grief is expressed in more moving lyrics than was their joy in the earlier play. Irritation and resentment sweep over Adam and are

shown in biting criticism of Eve. He turns to action to alleviate his misery. Eve, for her part, accepts the will of God without protest.

It can be said that in our three plays some measure of successful character portrayal has been achieved. God, Lucifer and the Virtues all have individual qualities which serve to bring them to life. Adam and Eve, though essentially vehicles for lyrical outpourings, stand out occasionally as real human beings and personify some of the universal characteristics of mankind. In spite of the fact that our playwrights were particularly preoccupied with the poetic and religious implications of their material, yet they did not entirely overlook the dramatic potential of their characters.

VI. METRE AND RHYME

A. *Metre*

The *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* are written mainly in octosyllabic verse but certain variations in line length exist. Lines of three, four, five, seven and ten syllables break the monotony of the text. The shorter lines are sometimes alternated with longer lines but also stand alone on occasion.¹ Seven and ten-syllable lines are not combined with others.²

As is to be expected in the period, our poets show considerable freedom in achieving the desired number of syllables in the line. Unaccented *e* before a consonant most often was sounded but when necessary it could be suppressed.³ Although the *e* frequently is written in a monosyllable before a following vowel, the syllable count shows that this letter was not always pronounced.⁴ In forms of *ouïr* and *esjouïr* the *ou* and *i* regularly constitute two syllables. As in modern French poetry, the ending *-ion* also counts as two syllables, and so do the endings of adjectives such as *glorieux* (18, 890), *precieux* (886), *fructifables* (41). The infinitive ending *-ier* normally has two syllables but in one case (1536) it is given the value of one.⁵

Taking into account these practices we find that in our three plays only thirteen lines have been preserved in a form with imperfect metre. To remedy faults one syllable has been cut in lines 233, 311, 467, 616, 792 and 1278; a monosyllable has been added in square brackets in lines 559, 721, 752, 1480, 1544, 1791 and 1843. Notes to the text indicate these alterations.

1. Octosyllabic verse is combined with three-syllable verse in the *Creacion* 326-49 (but 333 has four syllables), 335-49, 359-64, 368-79; in the *Transgression* 1196-1203. It is combined with four-syllable verse in the *Creacion*, 243-54, 350-58, 365-67, 380-88; in the *Transgression* 1190-95. It is combined with five-syllable verse in the *Transgression*, 1183-90. Passages containing only shorter lines are found in the *Creacion* 724-29, 784-89; in the *Transgression* 974-97, 1230-35; in the *Expulsion*, 1571-78, 1680-85.

2. Seven-syllable lines occur in the *Expulsion*, 1477-88, 1502-10, 1557-70, 1801-08. Decasyllabic verse appears in the *Creacion* 1-188, 229-36; in the *Expulsion* 1291-1310, 1489-1501.

3. In the first 200 lines of the *Creacion* the unaccented *e* counts as a syllable 60 times as opposed to 13 cases where it is suppressed. In the *Transgression* the proportion is 74 to 3; in the *Expulsion* it is 118 to 1.

4. See *je obtiens* 90; *me avez créé* 156; *me asseray* 294; *que Adam* 1364; *que on* 1352; *je apperçoy* 1140; *ne userez* 860; *de estre* 1342, etc. On the other hand see *m'avez créé* 98, 164, *m'avez fait* 89, etc.

5. The endings of *mensongier* (1568) and *messagier* (1569) are also monosyllabic.

B. Rhyme

The usual rhyme in our plays is some variety of *rime croisée*. The most common development of this is an evolving rhyme running *abab bcbc cdcd* and so on.⁶ Frequently a series of such rhymes is closed by a rhyming couplet. Another variation of *rime croisée* follows the tercet pattern *aab aab bbc bbc ccd ccd* and so on.⁷

Other combinations of rhymes in all three plays seem to form stanzaic structure. For example, in the *Creacion* we see *aab aab bbc cb* (237-47); *aab aab bc bc c⁵c⁵d⁵ c⁵c⁵d⁵* (254-69); *a⁵a⁵b⁵ a⁵a⁵b⁵* (724-29);⁸ *abab abcc* (the last four lines being in Latin, 958-65). In the *Transgression* such stanzaic patterns are sometimes simple, such as *aab aab bc* (1006-13), or *aab bccd* (1263-69), or *abb aac caa aab bcc dde eff* (1270-90). Two complex patterns, however, appear in the *Transgression*: *a⁸a³a³b⁸ a⁸a³a³b⁸ c⁸c⁸d⁸ c⁸c⁸d⁸* (1196-1209) and *a⁵a⁵b⁵ a⁵a⁵b⁵ b⁸b⁸c⁸ b⁸b⁸c⁸* (1230-41).⁹ In the *Expulsion* the rhyme schemes become still more elaborate. Some groups fall clearly into a stanzaic pattern, others seem rather to reflect a desire for freedom (or perhaps merely carelessness) on the part of the author. A few elaborate stanzaic structures of the *Expulsion* are the following: *aba abb b [b] c* ([*b*] being in a line that is missing) *bbc ccd ccd ded eef ef* (1311-35); *abba acaa* (1430-37); *a⁷a⁷a⁷a⁷b⁷ a⁷a⁷a⁷a⁷b⁷* (1477-88);¹⁰ *aab aab bcc dd ee* (all decasyllables, 1489-1501); *aab aab bbc bbc* (all seven-syllable lines, 1502-13); *aba abb cbb ccd dee f* (1541-56); *aaaaaaaaa* (all seven-syllable lines, 1557-66); *a⁷a⁷a⁷b⁷ a⁷a⁷a⁷b⁷ b⁸b⁸c⁸ b⁸b⁸c⁸ c⁸d⁸d⁸ c⁸c⁸e⁸* (1801-20). As examples of less orderly stanza forms in the *Expulsion* I shall mention the following: *aba aac aac cdc dd* (1677-90); *aab aab bcb ccd cdd ed* (1706-22); and *abaa acca adda afa* (1735-49). Others could be listed.

6. See the *Creacion* 1-88, 113-208, 221-36, 270-325, 408-57, 466-537, 546-65, 574-91, 593-609, 610-23, 624-33, 634-723, 730-777, 790-97, 810-85, 902-49. In the *Transgression* this pattern is found 998-1005, 1014-65, 1084-1183, 1210-29, 1242-61. In the *Expulsion* it occurs only once, 1640-55. According to H. Châtelain, *Le Vers français au 15^e siècle* (Paris, 1908, pp. 92-3) this arrangement is extremely common in the *Passion de Semur*, and is also found in the *Mercadé Passion* (*Passion d'Arras*) and in the *Greban Passion*.

7. See the *Creacion* 326-91, 778-89; the *Transgression* 974-97, 1066-83, 1184-95; and the *Expulsion* 1291-1308, 1489-1494, 1529-40, 1634-39 and 1750-57 (*aab aab bc*). Single tercets (*aab bbc*, etc.) are found in the *Passion de Semur* and, especially, in *Greban* (Châtelain, p. 109).

8. This stanza is also to be seen in *Greban's Passion* (Châtelain, p. 111).

9. This rhyme scheme, with the combination of five-syllable and eight-syllable lines, is also found in *Greban* (Châtelain, p. 109).

10. Froissart also practiced this stanza form (Châtelain, p. 121) .

Rime plate occurs frequently in the *Expulsion* (and only rarely in the two other plays).¹¹ *Rime plate* is mixed indiscriminately with *rime croisée* in lines 1821-78 of the *Expulsion*.

Seven *rondeaux* are introduced into the *Creacion*.¹² Only one is found in the *Transgression*¹³ and none in the *Expulsion*. Six of the *rondeaux* of the *Creacion* follow the oldest pattern *ABaAabAB*.¹⁴ The last is a sixteen-line *rondeau* having a four-line refrain: *ABBA abAB abba ABBA* (886-901). The only *rondeau* in the *Transgression* (966-73) has the early pattern, *ABaAabAB*.

The use of mnemonic rhyme to link speeches is often found but is not necessarily the rule.¹⁵ *Rime riche* is abundant.¹⁶ Enjambement is common.¹⁷ No effort has been made to alternate masculine and feminine rhymes.

To summarize the treatment of rhyme in our plays, and to see whether any conclusions as to authorship can be drawn from the use of rhyme, I shall say that the rhyme in the *Creacion* is less varied than that of the other plays, but that it is achieved with greater facility. The dominance in the *Creacion* of the pattern *abab bcbc*, etc. suggests affinities, at least of time, between this play and the *Passion de Semur*, *Passion d'Arras* and Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*.¹⁸ The frequent appearance of the eight-lined *rondeau* in the *Creacion* would also seem to link this play with Greban, for Châtelain tells us that Greban included fifty-five such *rondeaux* in his *Mystère*.¹⁹ The rhyme pattern *aab aab ccd ccd dde dde*, etc., so general in the *Creacion*, is also a favorite pattern

11. *Expulsion* 1618-33, 1671-76, 1691-1703, 1723-34, 1758-69 and 1778-83.

12. *Creacion* 209-16, 400-07, 458-65, 538-45, 566-73, 886-901, 950-57.

13. *Transgression* 966-73.

14. According to Châtelain (p. 199) this *rondeau* form was first used in the twelfth century. See examples in the *Creacion* 209-16, 400-407, 458-65, 566-73 and 950-57.

15. For cases where mnemonic rhyme does not appear see the *Creacion* 445-46, 467-68, 475-76, 479-80, etc.; the *Transgression* 976-77, 982-83, 994-95, 999-1000, etc.; the *Expulsion* 1320-21, 1333-34-35, 1430-31, 1454-55.

16. For examples of *rime riche* see the *Creacion* 21:23, 34:36, 38:40, etc.; the *Transgression* 967:971, 994:997:998:1000, 1003:1005, etc.; *Expulsion* 1300:1301, 1305-1307, 1333:1335, etc.

17. For examples see the *Creacion* 13-14, 23-24, 51-52, etc.; *Transgression* 975-76, 1014-15, 1018-19, etc.; *Expulsion* 1294-95, 1300-01, 1322-23, etc.

18. For a discussion of the date of the MVT see Chapter I above and Chapter I, note 3. The *Passion de Semur* and *Passion d'Arras* were probably written before 1450 and Greban's *Passion* before 1452 (see G. Frank, p. 176 note 1, p. 179 and p. 182).

19. Châtelain, p. 201.

of Greban.²⁰ All this, then, would support the suggestion that Greban might have been the author of the *Creacion*.

In the *Transgression* the pattern *abab bcbc*, etc. appears only five times, while the pattern *aab aab ccd ccd dde dde*, etc. is found only three times. Only one *rondeau* is introduced. In the *Expulsion* one example of the pattern *abab bcbc*, etc. occurs, and there are four cases of *aab aab bbc bbc*, etc. No *rondeaux* are introduced.

In all three plays rhymes are combined to form stanzaic structures. These are fairly simple groupings in the *Creacion*. They become more complex in the *Transgression* and still more ambitious (and less firmly built) in the *Expulsion*.

A study of the use of rhyme, then, would suggest that Greban is more likely to have written the *Creacion* than either of the other two plays; that the *Creacion* may have been written earlier than the *Transgression* and the *Expulsion*; and that each of the three plays may have been done by a different author.²¹

C. Relationship between metre, rhyme, and content

In all three plays variety of rhyme seems to have little connection with the thoughts expressed in the lines. The poets were skillful in their trade and took pride in revealing dexterity in handling rhymes. A much closer correlation appears to exist between metre and text.

Decasyllabic verse is obviously intended to lend dignity to a speech. Only God, his angels and the Virtues use the decasyllable and they do so sparingly, either in the initial creation scene or in passages connected with the judgment of man. It is interesting to note that Lucifer uses the ten-syllable line only in his capacity as Prince of Angels (85-94) and at the moment when he aspires to being God's equal (153-80).

20. See note 7 of this chapter.

21. In his "Etude sur les formes métriques du 'Mystère du Vieil testament,'" *Medelingen der koninklijke nederlandse Akademie van wetenschappen, afd. letterkunde*, Nieuwe reeks Deel XXV, No. 22 (Amsterdam, 1962) W. Noomen finds that, judging by techniques of versification, ll. 1-1257 may be the work of one author and ll. 1258-4291 that of another (the line references are to the Rothschild edition). He says: "Le groupe 1-2 (i.e. ll. 1-1257) se distingue par le fait que la rime plate est pratiquement inconnue, de sorte que les octosyllabes s'organisent en quatrains et sizains" (p. 38). Noomen does not, however, analyze anything but versification in arriving at this conclusion nor does he compare the versification of the sections included in the present edition with that of Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*. It should also be noted that l. 1257 is the last line of the MVT which is also found in the *Mistère de la Passion* of the Bibliothèque de Troyes, but that for content the *Transgression* can not be considered to end until l. 1290.

As soon as Lucifer has fallen he relapses into the more mundane octosyllabic line.

Rondeaux are introduced when intensity of emotion is felt by the characters. The proximity of *rondeaux* to Latin hymns (209-20 and 962-73) suggests that the *rondeaux* might have been sung, though no specific directions to this effect are given. Lucifer uses the *rondeau* to call on his angels to follow him in his climb (400-07) and to voice despair after his fall (538-45). In the refrain of a majestic *rondeau* the archangels reiterate their praise of the Lord:

Vray Dieu, regnant en magesté
(ll. 566, 569 and 572)

The combination of long and short lines may reflect only a desire for variety, but passages written entirely in shorter lines are highly emotional in nature. Thus Adam and Eve express in short lines their gratitude (724-29, 784-89) or their joy (974-97). Later Eve's repentance is given poignant expression in five-syllable lines (1230-35), as are Adam's reproaches in four-syllable lines (1571-78). Finally Adam begs for God's mercy in five-syllable lines (1680-85).

We may say, then, that if the variety of rhyme-scheme was simply the result of the poets' desire to display their skill, the irregularities in metre sprang from their efforts to use their verse to create the mood of their work. Flexibility in line length helped to impart to the audience the emotions of the chief characters.

VII. LANGUAGE

In our study of the language the basic text considered will be that of the *Creacion*. When corresponding examples, whether similar or different, are to be found in the *Transgression* or the *Expulsion* these will be listed in footnotes. An effort then will be made to determine whether the language of the *Transgression* and the *Expulsion* is different from that of the *Creacion*.¹

A. Phonology

Modern French open *e* [ɛ] is written in the *Creacion* in diverse fashions. So we see modern French *claire* written as *clere* and rhyming with *pleniere* (69:71), *lumiere* (309:310), *fumiere* (486:488), and *mere* (810:812).² As might be expected at this time *bref* appears within the text as *brief* (257) and parallel to it is the archaic form *griefvement* (537).³ Not at the rhyme but probably having the sound of modern [ɛ] are *per* (153), *seine* (604), and forms of the verb *laisser* (*lessera* 812 and *lesseron* 817).

Rhymes of —*aine* and —*eine* underline the identity in sound of these combinations of letters: thus *pleine:saine* (101:102) and *primeraine:pleine* (720:723).⁴

As might be expected, the vowels that evolved into the sound [œ] of modern French are rather indiscriminately rendered in our texts. So we read within the lines *demorer* (493),⁵ and *euvre* (17), but *ouvre* (919). Equally varied are the fashions of representing the sounds that became modern French closed and open *o*, and the vowel sound of modern French *pour*; this is seen in such words as *arrouser* (656) and *voulenté* (884).⁶

A noteworthy rhyme occurs in lines 523-28, where *appareil* (523)

1. In the notes *Creacion* will be abbreviated as *Cr.*, *Transgression* as *Tr.* and *Expulsion* as *Ex.*

2. See *Ex. saiche* or *seiche* (modern French *sèche*) 1780, 1787 and 1803.

3. *Tr. briefvement* 1059, *rechief* 1075. Modern French *cher* appears in the *Tr.* (within the line) 1151.

4. *Ex. humaine:peine* (1750-1751). The rhyme *permettre:maistre* (*Ex.* 1852:1853) shows that the *s* before a consonant was no longer pronounced. Although comparable rhymes occur in the *Creacion* (*naistre:silvestre* 643:645 and *terrestre:estre* 646:648) nothing indicates there how they were pronounced.

5. *Tr. plore* 1219; *Ex. plourer* 1585.

6. *Ex. treuve* 1345; *Ex.* also has at the rhyme *meure:pleure* 1600-1601, *espleure:mediateure:intercesseure* 1602:1603:1604, *sequeure:malfacture:detraiture:procurature* 1606:1607:1608:1609.

appears to rhyme with *eternel* (525), and *conseil* (526) with *supernel* (528). This may be an instance of unusual rhyme pattern *abcaded*, but inasmuch as the linking of speeches (that is, probable mnemonic rhyme) is involved, this does not seem too likely.

That the sound represented by the letters *eu* was in certain cases pronounced [ü] is shown by the rhymes *deu:attendu* (305:306); *nue:veue* (392:394); *value:congneue* (685:686).⁷ Once modern French [ü] is represented by *ou*, in *souffisant* (326).

The nasal consonants *en* and *an* are used interchangeably. So we find *magnificence:obeissance* (110:112); *puissance:reverence* (113:115 and *passim*); *decente:vivante* (703:705) and many other instances.⁸

One example of etymological spelling in the *Creacion* is *recepvoir* (323).⁹ Due also to Latin influence is the regular transcription of *sous* as *soubz* (193, 422, 430, etc.) and of *écrit* as *escript* (20r.) and *escrips* (657r.). A case of the persistence of *s* before a consonant is seen in *plaist* (132). Frequently a learned *l* is inserted in such words as *vault* (300), *meult* (691), *veulx* (795), *eulx* (641) and many others.¹⁰ That this *l* was silent is shown by the rhyme *cieulx:gracieux* (5:7), and *cieulx:precieux* (420:422).¹¹

Several peculiarities occur in the *Transgression* and *Expulsion* which have no equivalent in the *Creacion*. First we find an uncertainty as to the spelling of modern French pretonic open *e* [ɛ] in such words as *charcher* (*Tr.* 1244), *pardon* (*Ex.* 1740) and *parmettre* (*Ex.* 1852). Once *a* occurs where *e* would be expected (*ragarde Ex.* 1737). *Mengier*, however, retains *e* (*Ex.* 1560). These forms reflect fluctuations in this vowel which existed throughout the middle ages and even up to the seventeenth century.

Another point not to be observed in the *Creacion* but found in the *Transgression* and *Expulsion* is the rhyming of various spellings of modern French closed *e* [e], that is —*ay*, —*é*, and the infinitive ending —*er*. So we see the rhymes *colloqueray:feré* (*Ex.* 1556:1557), *mengier:*

7. *Ex. nature:asseure* 1760:1761.

8. This also appears in the *Tr. habondance:puissance:regence:science* (1039:1041:1042:1044); *deffence:jouissance* (1091:1092); *sentence:doubtance* (1109:1111). In the *Ex.* only one example occurs, *puissance:penitence* (1418:1419).

9. In the *Tr. recepvant* 1032; *decepvair* 1059; in the *Ex. receipt* 1380. In contrast to these cases we see at the rhyme in *Ex. decevoir* 1605 and *recevoir* 1615.

10. *Tr. mieulx* 1164; *Ex. peult* 1436; *cieulx* 1836.

11. *Tr. dieux:mieulx* 1163:1164; *Ex. delieux:cieulx* 1835:1836.

diré (Ex. 1560:1561) and *seré:voirray* (Ex. 1562:1563). A curious rhyme in the *Expulsion* (1713-1718) involves sounds that do not appear identical: *memoire:encoire: gloire:territoire*. Perhaps the *i* here was added to *encore* for visual rhyme. No doubt *oi* here was pronounced [œ]. Châtelain, p. 38, says such rhymes between *encore* and words in *—oire* were common in the fifteenth century.

Finally to be noted is a rhyme found in the *Transgression* which shows that here, at least, the sound represented by *—emme*, *—ame*, and *—asme* must have been identical; that is evidenced by the rhymes *femme:blasme:infame:diffame* (Tr. 1211:1213:1214:1216).

B. Morphology

From the point of view of morphology the language of our plays already is close to modern French. A few archaic expressions still survive, however, and other peculiarities are typical of fifteenth-century French. Several times *es* stands for *en les* (58, 224, 439).¹² In the *Creacion*, *grant* regularly serves for both *grand* and *grande* (299, 397, 659).¹³ The adverb *forment* (231) no doubt survives from the Old French use of *for[ɛ]* for modern French *forte*.¹⁴ The archaic form *celle* for *cette* is found in line 35.¹⁵ Elsewhere *ceste* is the normal feminine demonstrative adjective and *cest* is the masculine. As a masculine singular pronoun *cestuy* appears in line 860,¹⁶ but *iceulx* (657r.) and *ceulx* (230, 235, 820, etc.) are more usual. *Lesquels* appears as *lesqueulz* (55) but elsewhere as *lesquelz* (439r., 816).

Se is sometimes seen where one would expect *ce* and vice versa. So we find *se premier* (658, 907) and *ce doit mettre* (for *doit se mettre*, 709r.).¹⁷ *Se que* appears 734.¹⁸ *Esse* for *est-ce* is found 494.¹⁹

Personal pronoun objects sometimes reflect persistence of Old French usage in the *Creacion*. The strong forms *soy* and *toy* are usually

12. Tr. es 1256. Another archaic survival is the use of *moult* for *très*, Tr. 974.

13. *Grant* or *grand* (f.) persists also in the Tr. 967, 974, 986, 1016; but beside it we have *grande* 973 and 1135; in the Ex. only one example of *grans* (f.) is encountered, 1681, as opposed to two of *grande* 1291 and 1763.

14. But we see *grandement* in Ex. 1637.

15. Also Tr. 1071 and Ex. 1295.

16. See *cestuy* Tr. 1096 and *ceste-cy* 1125 for feminine singular.

17. Tr. *se a esté* 1282.

18. *Ce* or *se* is used meaning *whether* in Tr. 1125, 1164; and meaning *if* 1156, 1424. Modern usage is, however, more common.

19. Also found Ex. 1477, 1561, 1731, etc. Another peculiar pronoun usage is found in the Tr. 1285 and Ex. 1403: *el* for *elle*.

utilized where the pronoun counts as a syllable, as in *en soy pourmenant* (228r.), *sans soy remouvoir* (697r.), *lieve toy* (790) and so on.²⁰

Turning to the verb forms we find some irregularities typical of the fifteenth century. Analogical *s* is usually missing in the first singular, present indicative of *savoir*, *dire*, *voir* and *devoir*. So we see *sçay* 498; *dy* 854;²¹ *voy* 229, 245, 287, etc.;²² *doy* 240, 246, 254, etc.²³

Typical of the fifteenth century is the use of *finer* (157) for modern French *finir*.²⁴ *Seoir* occurs for modern French *asseoir* (398) and both *asseray* (294) and *assierrons* (610)²⁵ are encountered.

A review of what has been said about the phonology of our three plays shows that from this point of view they are almost identical. As opposed to *brief* (*Cr.* 257) and *griefvement* (*Cr.* 537) we might point to *cher* (*Tr.* 1151); but we must also take into account the appearance in the *Transgression* of *briefvement* (1059) and *rechief* (1075). Latin influence in spelling is perhaps more evident in the *Transgression* and *Expulsion* than in the *Creacion*, but this may be due to the scribes or printers and does not in any case necessarily reflect pronunciation. In fact, rhymes such as *cieulx:precieux* found in all three plays show that the Latinizations were not pronounced.

Greater uncertainty as to how to represent pronunciation is revealed by the spellings in the *Transgression* and *Expulsion* of such words as *charcher* (*Tr.* 1244) and *pardon* (*Ex.* 1740). Similarly more unusual rhymes are found in these two plays than in the *Creacion*. This is shown by such examples as *mengier:diré* (*Ex.* 1560:1561) and *femme:blasme:infame:diffame* (*Tr.* 1211:1213:1214:1216). Yet essentially the phonology of all three plays is the same.

Morphologically speaking comparable similarities between the plays

20. No example of this usage is found in the *Tr.* and only one comparable case, *veuille toy de nous advertir*, is seen in the *Ex.* 1717.

21. *Ex.* *dy* 1371, 1385, 1407, etc.

22. *Tr.* *voy* 1137, 1180, 1246; *Ex.* *voy* 1453. See also an Old French third singular present subjunctive, *pardoint*, *Ex.* 1727. We should also note that in the *Ex.*, in the first person plural of the present and future, the final *s* frequently is missing, 1731, 1732, 1740, 1741, 1784, etc., but it more commonly appears in all three plays. In one case a verb form in the *Ex.* (*veuil*, first singular, present, 1331 and 1520) is more archaic than the comparable form (*veulx*) in the *Creacion*, 795.

23. *Tr.* *doy* 1016; *Ex.* *doy* 1585, 1596.

24. *Tr.* *finer* 1181. Other noteworthy verb forms in the *Tr.* are *acquerre* (1259) for *acquérir* and *voirray* (1563) for *verrai*.

25. No comparable examples are to be noted in the *Tr.* and *Ex.*

also exist. The use of *grant* (or *grand*) for modern French *grande* is more common in the *Creacion* than in the other plays. In the *Transgression* and *Expulsion*, *grande* is taking its place beside *grant*. *Celle* for *cette* is found once in the *Creacion* (35). *Soy* and *toy*, regularly used in the *Creacion* where modern French would have *se* and *te*, have almost disappeared in the *Transgression* and *Expulsion*. To balance these archaisms in the *Creacion*, however, we must mention the use of *moult* for *très* in the *Transgression*, 974; of *pardoint* in the *Expulsion*, 1727; of *el* for *elle* in the *Transgression*, 1285 and the *Expulsion*, 1403; of older *veuil* (Ex. 1331, 1520) for more modern *veulx* found in the *Creacion* (795); and of archaic *acquerre* in the *Transgression* (1259). Thus morphology, like phonology points up no difference in date of composition between the three plays.

In short, analysis of the language of the *Creacion*, *Transgression* and *Expulsion* indicates that all three plays were written at about the same period, probably in the mid-fifteenth century.

La Creacion, La Transgression
and L'Expulsion of the
Mistere Du Viel Testament

La Creacion, La Transgression and L'Expulsion of the Mistere Du Viel Testament

S'ENSUIT PAR PERSONNAGES COMMENT DIEU, NOSTRE SOUVERAIN 2 recto
ET PUISSANT SEIGNEUR, CREA LE CIEL ET LA TERRE, AVECQUES
TOUTES CHOSSES CELESTES ET TERRIENNES; ENSEMBLE AUSSI LA
CREACION DE L'HOMME ET DE LA FEMME, AVECQUES PLUSIEURS
AUTRES YSTOIRES DE LA BIBLE, ET EST INTITULÉ CE PRESENT
VOLUME: LE VIEL TESTAMENT

[*Illustration: God with the world*]

NOTA QUE CELUY QUI JOUE LE PERSONNAGE DE DIEU DOIT ESTRE,
A CE COMMANCEMENT, TOUT SEUL EN PARADIS JUSQUES A CE
QU'IL AIT CRÉÉ LES ANGES

[LA CREACION]

Dieu, COMMENCE

- Pour demonstrier nostre magnificence
Et decorer les trosnes glorieux
Voulons ce jour, par divine excellence,
4 Produire faictz divins et vertueux.
Nous qui sans per regissons les Saintz cieulx
En hault pover et digne eternité
Demonstrerons triumphes gracieux
8 Pour refulcir gloire et felicité.
Nous regnons seul, ung Dieu en trinité,
Sans avoir fin ne nul commencement,
Triple personne, conjointe en unité,
12 Les trois en ung inseparablement,
Tout ung vouloir et ung consentement
En une essence et bonté deifique,
Sans preceder, mais tout egallement,
16 Les trois sans fin joints en vouloir unique;
Par quoy de faict, pour euvre magnifique,
Comme puissant, parfaict et glorieux,
Creons le ciel, qui concerne et implicque
20 En son pourpris les corps bien heureux.
ADONC SE DOIT TIRER UNG CIEL DE COULEUR DE FEU AU QUEL SERA

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

ESCRIT "CELUM EMPIREUM"

- Aprés, creons pour ung bien fructueux
 Quatre elemens divers en qualitez
 Pour concurrencer les effectz vertueux
 24 Des choses basses en leurs subtilitez.
 Premièrement, par franche agillitez,
 Le feu aura la plus haulte partie;
 ADONCQUES SE DOIT GETTER GRANDES FLAMBES DE FEU
 Et l'air après, qui tient ses limitez,
 28 Aura sa place dessoubz luy departye.
 L'eau en après, qui est toute espartye,
 Sera plus bas, pour le feu esloigner.
 Et puis la terre, qui est ferme establie,
 32 Au plus bas lieu la voulons ordonner;
 Puis nous convient stabilité donner
 A tout le centre, en la pleine stature,
 A celle fin que puissions ordonner
 36 Perfection en la nostre facture;
 Dont et affin que gloire nette et pure
 Soit exaulcee en ce lieu venerable,
 Produirons sieges aornez par droicture
 40 Pour collauder le manoir honorable.
 En oultre plus, pour bien fructifiable,
 Voulons creer Anges par monarchyes
 Et en ferons, en ce siegle notable,
 44 Pour refulcir, trois belles iherarchies.
 En la premiere, pour joyes et melodyes,
 Establirons les nobles Cherubins
 Pour resonner les haultz sons d'armonyes,
 48 Acompaignez des Trosnes et Seraphins;
 En la seconde, pour leurs prochains affins,
 Seront posez les Dominacions,
 Principaultez et Puissances, enclins
 52 A fulcir joyes et collaudacions;
 Et en la tierce, pour fin, establirons
 Virtuaultez et souverains Archanges
 Lesqueulz aussi nous acompaignerons
 56 De noz [bons] et bien eueux Anges.
 Ainsi seront, sans faire autres eschanges,
 Es lieux preveux ordonnez dignement,
 En nous rendant souveraines louenges

60 Par tous les cieulx universellement.

[*Illustration: God and the heavenly hosts*]

ADONCQUES SE DOIVENT MONSTRER TOUS LES ANGES, CHACUN PAR
ORDRE COMME DIT LE TEXTE; ET AU MILLIEU D'EUX L'ANGE
LUCIFER AYANT UNG GRANT SOLEIL RESPLANDISSANT DARRIERE LUY.
Levez vous, Anges, monstrez vous patemment,
Resonans chantz de joyeux repertoire
Pour exaulcer le trosne excellement
64 Et premunir la monarchalle gloire.
Toy, Lucifer, au divin consistoire,
Auras ce nom par grace singuliere
Pour demonstrier, par vertus meritoire,
68 Que devant tous seras portant lumiere.
Nous te donnons de nostre amour pleniere
Plus que nul autre puissant et magnifique
Portant en toy la clarté pure et clere
72 Resplendissant luiseur lucifericque.
Vous autres, faitz en nature angelique,
Collauderez nostre divinité
En resonnant joyeux chantz de musique
76 Pour demonstrier gloire et felicité
En ce manoir de haulte eternité.
Par legions serez resplendissans
Pour apparoir la magnanimité
80 Ou vous serez en tous biens florissans,
En ces haultz trosnes dignes et puissans
Corroborant nostre exaltacion,
Posez et mis es sieges triumphans
84 Ou hault pourpris de jubilation.

Lucifer, A GENOULX ET LES MAINS JOINCTES, ET TOUS LES
AUTRES AINSI ENSUIVANT:

Hault empereur sans terminacion,
Dieu souverain en vertus charitable,
De voz haulx faitz ay recordacion.
88 Mercy vous rens de ma creacion
Qui m'avez fait tant digne et vertuable.
De vous je obtiens leur inestimable
Par vostre grace et sainte amour benigne;
92 Et m'avez faict puissant et venerable
Comme porteur de lumiere admirable
Resplendissant en la gloire divine.

Michel, A GENOULX

- 96 Dieu triumpphant, sur tout puissant et digne,
Vray directeur de l'eternel demaine,
Grace vous rends quant par amour benigne
M'avez créé en joye tant souveraine.
Sur tous avez essence primeraine,
100 Comme regent et vray gubernateur
A qui devons obeissance pleine.
A vous me rends de pensee pure et saine
Comme a celuy qui a toute haulteur.

Gabriel, A GENOULX

- 104 Roy triumpphant, souverain Plasmateur,
Tout dominant en ce trosne divin,
Mercy vous rends, comme a mon createur,
Tant m'avez faict de plaisir et d'honneur
108 Que m'avez faict de vostre vueil begnin.
Je me soubmetz a vous, le chef enclin,
Pour decorer vostre magnificence.
Certifiant de franc loyal, affin
112 De moy tenir en vostre obeissance.

Raphael, A GENOULX

- Vray Createur, plein de toute puissance,
Par qui j'ay lieu en ce divin manoir
Grace vous rends en humble reverence,
116 Moy soubmettant soubz vostre hault vouloir;
Sur tout avez preeminance et pouvoir
Comme recteur de haulte eternité,
Tout regissant par ung divin sçavoir
120 Comme regnant en vraye sublimité.

3 recto

Cherubin, A GENOULX

- Hault Resplendeur, assis en magesté,
Qui seul regis totale monarchie,
Mercy vous rends en toute humilité
124 Quant par vous suis en noble iherarchie.
Bien devons tous resonner melodye
En chant plaisant, notable et gracieux
Pour demonstrier celestine armonye,
128 En union de bien concordieux.

Seraphin, A GENOULX

Dieu tout puissant, divin et vertueux,

- Que chacun doit d'honneur magnifier
 Grace vous rends de cuer affectueux
 132 Que tant vous plaist nous beatifier.
 Bien nous devons en joye letifier
 Pour vostre honneur et exaltacion,
 Car nul ne peult par trop glorifier
 136 Vostre hault nom d'inextimacion.

Trosne, A GENOULX

- Vray Dieu, parfaict en jubilation
 Plain de douceur et gloire infinitive,
 Mercy vous rends de ma creacion,
 140 Soubz vostre essence divine et perfective.

Puissance, A GENOULX

- Prince puissant en regence impassive,
 Dont nul ne peult extimer la haultesse,
 Grace vous rends par amour dilective
 144 Quant huy me voy en gloire de noblesse.

Virtus, A GENOULX

- Dieu infiny, plain de toute sagesse,
 Remply d'honneur et gloire magnificque,
 Mercy vous rends de cuer en toute humblesse
 148 Pour vostre nom sur tout autre autenticque.

Dominacion, A GENOULX

- Hault createur de nature angelique
 Qui produisez toute divine gloire
 Grace vous rends d'entente purificque
 152 Quant m'avez fait grace tant merito[i]re.

Le premier ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX

- Vray Dieu sans per, ayant tout en memoire,
 Seul directeur du divin firmament,
 Mercy vous rends [quant], pour vray tout notoire,
 156 Me avez creé en ce lieu dignement.

Le second ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX

- Dieu sans finer, regnant divinement,
 En toute grace et vertus decoree,
 Grace vous rends de cuer reveremment
 160 Quant huy me voy en gloire tant louee.

Le tiers ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX

- Prince eternel, plain de grace honoree,
 A qui chacun doit toute reverence,
 Mercy vous rends quant, a ceste journee,

- 164 M'avez créé en si noble excellence.
Le iii^{me} ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX
 Vray Dieu, parfait, plain de magnificence,
 Tout augmentant en divin exercice,
 Grace vous rends en humble obeissance,
 168 Moy soubmettant soubz vostre benefice.
Le v^{me} ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX
 Souverain Roy de la gloire felice,
 Que chacun doit en honneur collauder,
 Mercy vous rends de cueur sans nul obice
 172 Pour vostre nom en tout bien exaulcer.
Le vi^{me} ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX
 Imperateur, pour tout bien gouverner,
 Prince puissant, plain de benignité,
 Soubz vous me vueil en tout humilier
 176 Remerciant vostre divinité.
Le vii^{me} ange de Lucifer, A GENOULX
 Mercy vous rends par singularité
 Quant je suis cy pour vous obtemperer,
 Car en vous est exelse dignité
 180 Pour vostre vueil en tout lieu exalter.
Dieu
 Anges celestes, qui querez honorer
 Nostre royaulme en joye de refulgence,
 Disposez vous a vouloir decorer
 184 Ce beau manoir plain de toute plaisance.
 Vous estes mis chacun en ordonnance
 Par legions esleux reveremment
 Pour explaner nostre magnificence
 188 A vostre vueil et saint commandement.
Lucifer
 Souverain Roy du firmament,
 Plain de toute suavité,
 Honneur ferons entierement
 192 A vostre grant divinité.
Michel
 Soubz vostre digne Magesté
 Sera liesse demenee
 Pour la digne felicité
 196 De vostre vertus venerée.

Gabriel

A vostre noblesse honnoree
 Demenerons esjouïssance
 Pour l'honneur de ceste journee
 200 Ou est fait tant noble excellence.

Rap[h]ael

En chants de douce resonance,
 D'amour et cordialité,
 Menerons toute esjouïssance
 204 Par divine jocundité.

3 verso

Dieu

Chacun de vous soit apresté
 En toute grace esjouïssant
 Pour la noble sublimité
 De ce hault manoir triumpant.

Trosne

SOUVERAIN DIEU RESPLENDISSANT,
 NOUS FERONS A VOSTRE PLAISIR.

Puissance

Chacun vous est obeissant,
 212 SOUVERAIN DIEU RESPLENDISSANT.

Virtus

Vray Dieu, en tout bien florissant,
 Joye menerons par bon desir.

Dominacion

SOUVERAIN DIEU RESPLENDISSANT,
 216 NOUS FERONS A VOSTRE PLAISIR.

ADONCQUES SE DOIT RESONNER UNE MELODYE EN PARADIS.

TUNC SIMUL CANTANT ANGELI:

*O lux beata, Trinitas,
 Et principalis unitas,
 Jam sol recedit igneus;
 220 Infunde lumen cordibus.*

Dieu

Or est parfait nostre desir
 De veoir ces beaulx trosnes parez
 D'Anges creez pour refulcir
 224 Es sieges que avyons preparez.
 Grandement en sont reparez
 Les saintz cieulx du hault paradis
 Ou sont tous biens equiparez

228 Par melodye et nouveaulx ditz.

PAUSE EN SILETE

Lucifer, EN SOY POURMENANT PAR MANIERE D'ORGUEIL

Quant je me voy en si noble pourpris
Resplendissant sur ceulx de ma semblance,
Le cueur m'esmeut et suis forment empris

232 De regenter en plus haulte excellence.
Il n'est qui ayt devant moy preference
D'honneur, de gloire, et franche agilité;
Car sur tous ceulx j'ay noble refulgence

236 Pour leur avoir en toute dignité.
Puis que j'ay tel felicité
De gloire en magnanimité
Sur tout autre resplendissant

240 Doy je point estre en magesté
Auprès de la divinité
Comme le recteur triumpphant?
Je suis sur tous bel et plaisant,

244 Bien formé, parfait et puissant,
Comme je voy;
Dont m'est bien advis que je doy
Estre dessus tous florissant.

248 Je suis puissant
Et souffisant
Pour regenter
Tout regissant

252 Imperissant
Sans nul doubter.
Je doy ces bas cieulx surmonter
Et au plus hault siege monter

256 De toute monarchalle gloire,
Car chacun voit, a brief compter,
Que nul ne sauroit raconter
Ma noble vertu meritoire.

260 J'ay tel clarté qu'il n'est memoire
De plus noble en ce hault party.
Je suis de tout bien repertoire
Et du plus digne lieu party.

264 Je suis tout uny
A Dieu, et muny

De toutes louanges,
 D'honneur premuny,
 268 De vertus garny,
 Plus que tous les Anges.

Faire me convient nouveaulx changes
 Et monter plus notablement,
 272 Car choses me sont trop estranges
 Quant point ne regne excellemment.
 Mes Anges, voyez clerement
 Que je suis, comme il m'est advis,
 276 Le plus bel ange entierement
 Qui soit en tout ce paradis.
 Sur tous autres honnoré je suis
 Pour ma glorification;
 280 Par quoy je doy bien estre mys
 En plus haulte exaltacion.
 Advis m'est que deusse avoir lieu
 Au siege de divinité,

284 Seant a la dextre de Dieu
 Lassus en haulte eternité;
 Mais je suis bien supedité
 Quant en si basse ordre me voy,
 288 Je qui ay telle auctorité
 Que nul n'est comparé a moy;
 Par [quoy], si vous me voulez croyre
 Et estre de mon alliance,
 292 Nous monterons lassus en gloire
 Pour tout regir sans difference.
 La me asserray par excellence
 Au siege de la Trinité,
 296 Et vous au tour, en asistence
 De ma gloire et felicité.

Le premier Ange

Vostre digne sublimité,
 De grant beaulté prerogative,
 300 Vault bien avoir tel dignité
 En gloire tant suppeliative.

Le ii^[me] Ange

Vous parlez d' [ardeur] perfective
 Comme saige et bien entendu;

4 recto

- 304 Car tel bien en gloire impassive
 Vous est bien sur tous autres deu.
Le iii^[me] Ange
 Vous avez ja trop attendu
 Veu vostre beaulté singuliere;
 308 Car tout bien vous est contenu
 Pour vostre parfaite lumiere.
Le iii^[me] Ange
 La lueur resplendissant et clere
 De quoy vous estes environne
 312 Requier bien que grace planiere
 En tel hault lieu vous soit donné.
Le v^[me] Ange
 Chacun de nous est adonné
 A vous faire honneur et service;
 316 Car tous bien vous est ordonné
 Pour avoir de gloire exercice.
Le vi^[me] Ange
 On vous congnoist exempt de vice
 Et en ce ciel saige et parfait,
 320 Par quoy tel divin benefice
 Vous est bien deu, par droit effect.
Le vii^[me] Ange
 Ne reste que le cas soit fait
 Pour recevoir grace felice,
 324 Car en vous est tout bien refait
 Pour estre en si digne exercice.
Lucifer
 Je suis souffisant et propice
 Sans obice
 328 De monter en divinité,
 Car je suis divin artifice,
 Sans eclipse,
 Regnant a perpetuité.
 332 Nul n'est precedent ma beaulté
 En dignité
 De toutes vertus venerable.
 Si doy avoir sublimité
 336 Sans limite,
 Car telle honneur m'est convenable.

Je seray en bruyt honnorable,
 Venerable,
 340 Contre le quel nul ne repugne.
 J'auray haultesse inextimable,
 Venerable,
 De telle noblesse opportune.
 344 Il n'y a nulle voye taciturne
 Qui impugne
 Contre telle exaltacion.
 La haulteur est clere et non brune,
 348 Tousjours une,
 En toute collaudacion.

Le premier Ange

Vostre haulte extimacion
 Sans opinion
 352 De toutes vertus decoree
 Vault bien avoir fruicion
 Sans fiction
 De telle gloire venerree.

Le ii^[me] Ange

356 La court sera corroboree
 Et honnoree
 De vostre noble exaulcement,
 Car vostre vertus tant louee
 360 Exaulcee
 Sera en lieu divinement.

Le iii^[me] Ange

Nous asisterons haultement
 Noblement
 364 Tout au tour de vostre haultesse
 A decorer reveremment
 Et humblement
 Vostre gloire en haulte lyesse.

Le iiiii^[me] Ange

368 En telle honneur sans nulle cesse
 Par noblesse
 Devez avoir preeminance
 Veu vostre divine richesse
 372 Qui sans cesse
 Rend ineffable refulgence.

4 verso

Le [v]^[me] Ange

A vostre haulte reverence

Sans doubtaunce.

376 Vous sera rendu tout honneur,

Car vostre noble precellence

De admirance

Doibt bien avoir telle haulteur.

Le vi^[me] Ange

380 Chacun vous portera faveur

De tout son cueur

Pour regner magnifiquement;

Car de divine resplendeur

384 Estes la fleur

Comme appert manifestement.

Le vii^[me] Ange

En vous du tout entierement

Et pleinement

388 Est haulte deité cogneue

Pour tout regir excellement

Et noblement

Consideré vostre valeue.

Lucifer

Temps est que je monte en la nue

En haulte jubilation

Afin que ma gloire soit veue

En divine exaltacion.

396 Lassus, par collaudacion,

Vueil estre semblable au plus grant

Et moy seoir sans dilacion

A la dextre de Dieu vivant.

400 MONTEZ TOUS! JE M'EN VOIS DEVANT

POUR MON SAINCT NOM MAGNIFIER.

Le premier Ange de Lucifer

Et nous après, en vous suivant.

Lucifer

MONTEZ TOUS! JE M'EN VOIS DEVANT.

Les Anges de Lucifer, ENSEMBLE.

404 Lucifer soit sur tous vivant!

Prestz sommes le glorifier.

Lucifer

MONTEZ TOUS! JE M'EN VOIS DEVANT
POUR MON SAINCT NOM MAGNIFIER.

PAUSE

ADONCQUES SE DOIVENT ESLEVER LUCIFER ET SES ANGES PAR UNE
ROUE SECRETEMENT FAICTE DESSUS UNG [PIVOS] A VIS

Dieu

Non ascendes, sed descendes.

- 408 Lucifer, pas ne monteras
Ou tu tends par presumption;
Mais au plus parfond descendras
En tartarique infection.
412 En ceste haulte region
Tu n'auras plus gloire honorable,
Car toy avec ta legion
Serez en peine pardurable.
416 Michel, vous ferez la victoire
Contre [le] dragon venimeux,
Qui cuide pretendre a ma gloire
Par son faulx courage orgueilleux.

Michel

- 420 Tressouverain Prince des cieulx,
Ung Dieu regnant en Trinité,
Soubz vostre vouloir precieux
Me soubmetz en humilité.
424 Faulx serpent, plein d'iniquité,
Contre toy combatray sans fin,
Qui veulx par ta ferocité
Surmonter le trosne divin.
428 Toy et les tiens, pleins de venin,
Abatray de ce lieu notable,
Soubz le hault puissant Roy begnin
Qui regne en gloire pardurable.
432 Dragon puant, insaciable
D'orgueil et fiere ambicion,
Va t'en comme damné dyable
En infernale mencion!
436 Vuide hors de la region
Des haults cieulx divins triumphans.
Va t'en, toy et ta legion,
Es palus infernaulx puans!

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

ADONCQUES DOIVENT TREBUCHER LUCIFER ET SES ANGES LE PLUS
Soudainement qu'il sera possible. Et doit avoir autant de
dyables tous prestz en l'enfer, lesquelz, en menant grande
tempeste, [getteront] feu du dit enfer; et dira ce qui
s'ensuit:

Lucifer

440 En despit et de rage urlans,
Blasphemans l'essence immortelle,
Nostre damnacion querans
Sommes, et par nostre cautelle.

Sathan

5 recto

444 De gloire divine eternelle
Sommes a tout jamais bennys.

Astaroth

Par la puissance supernelle
Estroictement sommes pugniss.

Cerberus

448 De ce glorieux paradis
Par nostre orgueil ainsi que foux
Sommes bennys et interdits.
Helas, helas! Que ferons nous?

Mammona

452 Nostre orgueil nous a deceuz tous
Et par ton intercession,
Lucifer.

Lucifer

Je meurs de couroux
[Quant] pense ma rebellion.

Sathan

456 En lieu remply d'infection
Sommes tumbéz suans, buans.

Lucifer

HARAU, HARAU, JE ME REPENS!
OU SOMMES NOUS, DYABLES INFERNAULX?

Sathan

460 Il n'est pas temps, il n'est pas temps.

Lucifer

HARAU, HARAU, JE ME REPENS!

Mamona

Plongez sommes avecques serpens,
Coleuvres, dragons et crapaulx.

Lucifer

464 HARAU, HARAU, JE ME REPENS!
OU SOMMES NOUS, DYABLES INFERNAULX?

Asmodeus

Faulx serpent, remply de tous maulx,
Tu as brassé telle poison.

Leviatan

468 Servans doibvent estre loyaulx
A leur maistre en toute saison.

Lucifer

Harau, harau! Quel desraison!
Qu'ay je fait, dyables, qu'ay je fait?
472 Harau! Qu'est ce cy? Quel prison?
Qui m'a mis en lieu tant infaict?

Agrappart

Faulx Dyiable! C'est par ton forfait
Que sommez ainsy tresbuchez.

Cerberus

476 Ton orgueilleux, villain meffait
Nous a causé tous noz pechez.

Lucifer

Harau! Par trop sommes attachez
Sans aucune intercession.

Astaroth

480 Au puis d'enfer sommes fichez
A jamais, sans remission.

Lucifer

N'y vault rien intercession,
Supplicacion ne priere?

Sathan

484 Jamais n'aurons la vision
De l'ineffalible lumiere.

Mamona

En ce gouffre plein de fumiere
Sommes mis, pour peine et tempeste.

Asmodeus

488 Plus ne verrons gloire tant clere.
Que le Dyable y ait malle feste!

Leviatan

Pour rien nous rompons bien la teste,
Car il n'y a grace ne mercy.

Agrappart

492 Rien n'y vaudroit don ne requeste.
Force est de demorer icy.

Lucifer

Haraul! hau, dyables, qu'esse cy?

Cerberus

Faulx ennemy, c'est tout par toy.

Astaroth

496 En peine, travail et soucy
Nous as mis par trop grant arroy.

Lucifer

Dyables, bien sçay que c'est par moy
Et par vostre consentement

500 Pour quoy en doloireux esmoy
Serons perpetuellement.
Je brusle, j'ay peine et torment
En lieu de joye et de lyesse,

504 Car en Enfer incessamment
Suis livré en dueil et tristesse.

Sathan

Feu de souffre ardant nous oppresse,
[Oultre] vermisieux venimeux

508 Nous causent douleur et destresse
En cest abisme tenebreux.

Mamona

En lieu obscur, layt et hideux,
Gouffre puant abhominable,

512 Sommes mis en feu langoureux
Et toute peine intollerable.

5 verso

Lucifer

Ou suis je mis, condamné dyable,
Privé du haultain paradis?

516 De tous suis le plus miserable,
Car je suis au parfont du puis.

Asmodeus

Faulx dragon, tu nous a seduitz
Par ta mauvaise ambicion

520 Dont avons perdus tout delitz
Et divine illustracion.

Leviatan

En tartarique infection
Est maintenant nostre appareil,
524 En lieu de jubilation
Et de tout triumphe eternel.

Agrappart

Lucifer, c'est par ton conseil
Que nous sommes a bas confondus,
528 Car en lieu de bien supernel
Sommes au parfont d'enfer fondus.

Cerberus

Deulx et travaux nous sont rendus
Pour toute lyesse et soulas,
532 Car en lieu de chanter lassus
Nous fault crier et dire: *he las!*

Astaroth

De joye et vertueulx esbas
Sommes tous privez et bannis,
536 Et tresbuche tout au plus bas
Dont grievement sommes pugniss.

Lucifer

DYABLES, HUYONS ET MENONS CRY.
C'EST LE PLUS BEAU DE NOSTRE CHANCE.

Sathan

540 Nous qui sommes en enfer escrips
DYABLES, HUYONS ET MENONS CRY.

Mamona

Estonnons les cieulx par noz huitz
En infernalle residence.

Asmodeus

544 DYABLES, HUYONS ET MENONS CRY,
C'EST LE PLUS BEAU DE NOSTRE CHANCE.

PAUSE

ADONCQUES SE DOIBT FAIRE UNE GRANDE TEMPESTE EN ENFER.

Dieu

Or est nostre Ange Lucifer
Tresbuché, luy et ses complices,
548 Es abismes, palus d'enfer,
Pour leurs faulx et orgueilleux vices.
Si convient, par vertus propices,
Reparer le trosne honnorable;

- 552 Car comme experts et [infelices]
Sont cheutes en peine pardurable.
Vous autres, pour bien venerable,
Vous conferme en stabilité
556 Pour nostre veul insuperable
Acomplir en juste equité.
Or est temps que soit limité
Le lieu [et] l'abitation
560 De celuy donc par charité
Voulons faire creacion.
Anges, pour collaudacion
De nostre haulte eternité
564 A ceste reparacion
Vous fault mener sollennité.

Michel

VRAY DIEU, REGNANT EN MAGESTÉ
DU TOUT VOUS VOULONS OBEYR.

Gabriel

- 568 Nous ferons vostre voulenté,
VRAY DIEU, REGNANT EN MAGESTÉ.

Dieu

En gloire de felicité
Convient les saintz cieulx resjouÿr.

Raphael

- 572 VRAY DIEU, REGNANT EN MAGESTÉ,
DU TOUT VOUS VOULONS OBEYR.

PAUSE

*ADONCQUES DOIBT DESCENDRE DIEU DE PARADIS AVECQUES SES ANGES
EN CHANTANT LE PLUS MELODIEUSEMENT QU'IL SOIT POSSIBLE.

Dieu

- Maintenant voulons visiter
La terre, qui est vuide et vaine,
576 Affin de la faire usiter
Par l'imitacion certaine
De nostre grace souveraine.
I seront tous biens exitez,
580 Car nous la rendrons seiche et saine
En vertuables limitez.
Pour oster tenebrositez

ADONCQUES SE DOIBT MONSTRER UNG DRAP PEINCT, C'EST ASSAVOIR

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

LA MOITYÉ TOUTE BLANCHE ET L'AUTRE TOUTE NOIRE
Qui empeschent la vision

584 Soient faictes deulx grandes clartez
Pour donner illustracion.

6 recto

L'une, par separacion,
Sera le jour, pour la clarté;
588 L'autre, par comparacion,
La nuyt, pour son obscurité.

[*Illustration: God with sun, moon and stars*]

Puis est le vespre et matin fait
Et nostre premier jour parfait.

PAUSE

592 Secondement parfournirons
La bas la terre entierement,
Et en ung lieu assemblerons
Les eaues dessoubz le firmament.

ADONCQUES SE DOIT MONSTRER COMME UNE MER QUI PAR AVANT
AYT ESTÉ COUVERTE, ET DES POISSONS DEDANS ICELLE MER

596 Et ce lieu, veritablement
Des eaues la congregacion,
Se sera la mer proprement
Pour toute nominacion.

600 Poissons, qui par creacion

LORS DOIT ON SECRETEMENT FAIRE MONSTRER ET SAULTER POISSONS
Estes mys en mer par droicture,
Faictes multiplicacion
Chacun selon sa geniture;

604 Et toy, terre, qui es seine et pure,
Gette arbres et herbes a la ronde,

ADONCQUES DOIT ON FAIRE SORTIR PETIS ARBRES, RAINSEAULX ET
LE PLUS DE BELLES FLEURS SELON LA SAISON QU'IL SERA POSSIBLE
Fructifians par leur nature

Chacun selon soy en ce monde;
608 Puis est la deuziesme journee
De vespres et matin terminees.

PAUSE

Et tiercement nous assierrons
Deux grantz lumieres au firmament
612 Par quoy nous illuminerons
La terre universellement.
Le soleil veritablement

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

ADONCQUES DOIT ON FAIRE MONSTRER UNG GRANT SOLEIL

- Sera pour le jour, par droicture,
616 Qui resplendira clerement
Confortant toute creature.
La lune aussi, selon nature,
ADONCQUES SE DOIT MONSTRER LA LUNE PLUS BAS QUE LE SOLEIL
Rendra a la nuyt sa clarté
620 Pour la preserver d'estre obscure,
Chassant toute immundicité;
Puis sera fait vespre et matin
Et nostre tiers jour mis a fin.

PAUSE

- 624 Quartement mettrons, par bon erre,
Les estoilles au ciel de lassus,
Pour donner clarté sur la terre
Par tout entierement ça jus.
628 La seront Mercure et Venus
Et les autres des sept planettes,
Jupiter, Mars et Saturnus
Rendens clartés pures et nettes.

6 verso

ADONCQUES SE DOIT MONSTRER UNG CIEL PAINCT TOUT SEMÉ
D'ESTOILLES ET LES NOMS DES PLANETTES

- 632 Puis vespre et matin determine
Et aussi le quart jour termine.

PAUSE

- Aprés quintement nous creerons
Oyseaux et bestes entierement
636 Tant que de toutes especes aurons
Par tout universellement.

[*Illustration: God creates birds, fish and a leviathan*]

ADONCQUES DOIT ON SECRETEMENT GETTER PETIS OYSEAULX
VOLANS EN L'AIR ET METTRE SUR TERRE OYSONS, CYNES, CANES,
COQS, POULES ET AUTRES OYSEAULX, AVECQUES LE PLUS DE BESTES
ESTRANGES QUE ON POURRA TROUVER

- Puis leur faisons commandement
Qu'il croissent par leur geniture,
640 Tant bestes que oyseaulx proprement,
Chacun d'eulx selon leur nature;
Et soient acouplez par droicture,
Deux a deux, pour seurement naistre,
644 Affin qu'il n'y ait forfaicture

En gendre privé ne sillvestre.
En après paradis terrestre
Sera noblement disposé

648 Car il y fera joyeux estre
Ainsi que l'avons proposé.

ADONCQUES SE DOIT MONSTRER UNG BEAU PARADIS TERRESTRE, LE
MIEUX ET TRIUMPHAMMENT FAIT QU'IL SERA POSSIBLE ET BIEN
GARNY DE TOUTES FLEURS, ARBRES, FRUITZ, ET AUTRES PLAIS-
SANCES, ET AU MEILLIEU L'ARBRE DE VIE PLUS EXCELLENT QUE TOUS
LES AUTRES

Et au millieu sera posé
L'arbre de vie tresprecieux,
652 Sanctifié et composé
De nostre vouloir glorieux.
De ce paradis vertueux
Seront produictz quatre ruisseaux

656 Pour arrouser par tous les lieux
Arbres, herbes, fruitz et rainseaux.

ADONCQUES SE DOIVENT MONSTRER QUATRE RUISSEaux COMME A
MANIERE DE PETITES FONTAINES, LESQUELLES SOIENT AUX QUATRE
PARTIES DU PARADIS TERRESTRE, ET CHACUN D'ICEULX ESCRIPS ET
ORDONNEZ SELON LE TEXTE

Se premier est nommé Phison
Qui grant terre environnera,
660 Et ce segond est dit Gyon
Lequel autre part s'en ira,
Le tiers ung autre ordonnera
Qui est par nous Tigris nommé;

664 Et ce quart l'autre part fera
Qui est Euphrates denommé.
Ainsi sera environné
Ce beau siecle, tant pur et monde,

668 Par ce noble fleuve, ordonné
Es quatres parties de ce monde.

Michel

Vray Dieu, ou toute grace habonde,
Remply de divine puissance,
672 Par vostre notable faconde
Avez créé lieu de plaisance.

7 recto

Gabriel

Voycy choses d'esjouissance
 Creez d'efficace divine,
 676 Parquoy en toute obeissance
 Me metz soubz vostre amour benigne.

Raphael

Souverain Dieu puissant et digne,
 Plein de toute amour charitable,
 680 Los vous doit la court celestine
 De voir ce lieu tant honnorable.

Cherubin

A vostre haulteur venerable
 Soit huy toute grace rendue.

Seraphin

684 Soubz vostre puissance ineffable
 Chacun tout honneur attribue.

Dieu

Anges pleins de noble value,
 Qui nous faictes honneur et hommage
 688 Vostre [a]mour est de nous congneue
 Comme clement, puissant, et sage.

PAUSE

Conclusion, pour dominer
 Ce qui meult soubz le firmament,
 692 Convient a brief determiner
 Ung conducteur d'entendement;
 Pourquoi ferons notablement
 Ung homme plein de sapience
 696 Qui sera veritablement
 Faict a nostre ymage et semblance.

ADONCQUES DOIT PRENDRE DE LA TERRE ET DU LYMON ET FAIRE A
 MANIERE D'UNE MASSE DESSUE LA TERRE; PUIS DOIT ON SECRETE-
 MENT PRODUIRE ADAM DESSUS LA TERRE, SANS SOY REMOUVOIR
 Icy sera par providence

Formé de terre et de lymon
 700 Pour demonstrier par evidence
 D'ou sera sa production.
 Si ferons inspiracion
 En sa face digne et decente,
 704 Tant que par vraye spiracion
 Sera faict en ame vivante.

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

ADONCQUES LUY DOIT INSPIRER PAR TROIS FOIS EN LA FACE

Homme, qui es par bonne entente

Formé de terre et de lymon,

708 Lieve toy cy et te presente
Pour estre en nostre audicion.

ADONC SE DOIT LEVER ADAM TOUT NUD ET FAIRE GRANDES ADMIRA-
CIONS EN REGARDANT DE TOUS COSTÉS ET PUIS CE DOIT METTRE
HUMBLEMENT A GENOULX, LES MAINS JOINCTES DISANT CE [QUI]
S'ENSUIT:

Adam

O divine ilustracion,
Pere puissant, plein de bonté,
712 De ma noble creacion
Vous rends graces en humilité,
Hault recteur de divinité.
Mon Dieu, mon Pere, et plasmateur,
716 Mercy vous rends par charité
Comme a mon maistre et createur.
O souverain gubernateur,
Principe du ciel et acteur
720 De toute chose primeraine,
Mon sieur, mon prince et [mon] recteur,
De tout bien auxiliaeur,
Mercy vous rends d'entente pleine.
724 Bonté souveraine,
Puissance haultaine,
Noble sapience,
En ce bas demaine
728 Par amour certaine
Vous faitz reverence.

Dieu

Adam, amy, viens et te advence,
Car je te mettray sans tarder
732 En ung lieu plein d'esjouissance
Pour y vivre et pour le garder.

Adam

Se qu'il vous plaist moy commander
Soubz vostre hault eternité
736 Acompliray sans retarder
De bon cueur en humilité.

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

ADONCQUES DOIT DIEU PRENDRE ADAM PAR LA MAIN EN PARADIS
TERRESTRE

Dieu

Adam, nous te avons apresté
Ce lieu de divine puissance
740 Ou tu auras felicité
De toute noble esjouissance.
Icy feras ta demourance
En ce beau paradis terrestre
744 Ou quel auras gloire et plaisance
A tous costez, dextre et senestre.

Adam, A GENOULX

[*Illustration: God with Adam and Eve in terrestrial paradise*] 7 verso

O mon createur et mon maistre,
Mon Dieu, mon pasteur honnorable,
748 Soubz vous je doy bien joyeux estre
D'avoir ce lieu tant delectable.

Dieu

Il n'est pas bon ne convenable
Que l'homme soit tout seul ainsi.
752 Faisons lui [une] aide semblable
Qui soit consonne avec luy.

Adam

Je suis tout joyeux d'estre icy. 8 recto
Que plus ne me puis contenir
756 Qu'i[l] ne me faille en ce party
Ung peu reposer et dormir.

ADONCQUES SE DOIT COUCHER ADAM SUR SON COSTÉ ET [QU'IL]
FACE SEMBLANT DE DORMIR

Dieu

Temps est que, pour tout accomplir,
Façons a l'homme compagnie
760 Pour luy aider et secourir
En ceste notable partye
De son corps sera departie
Une coste que nous prendrons,
ADONCQUES DOIT FAIRE MANIERE DE PRENDRE UNE DES COSTES DE
ADAM ET FAIRE LA BENEDICTION DESSUS ET PUIS, EN SOY BAISSANT,
SERA PRODUITE EVE SUR TERRE
764 Dont la femme sera partie,
Car de ce seul la formerons.

Femme, tout ainsi que voulons,
 Lieve toy, monstre ta presence,
 768 Car pour tout bien nous te creons
 Affin que l'homme ait secourance.
 ADONCQUES EVE SE LIEVE EN FAISANT ADMIRACION, PUIS SE MET
 A GENOUX

Eve

O haulte et divine puissance,
 Mon Dieu, mon prince, et mon facteur,
 772 Grace vous rends et reverence,
 Comme a mon pere et createur.
 Vray regent, principe recteur
 De gloire et de felicité,
 776 Soubz vostre divine haulteur
 Me rends en toute humilité.
 Souverain Dieu de majesté,
 Regnant en haulte eternité
 780 Par divine et noble puissance,
 Je me rends a vostre bonté,
 Pleins de toute sainteté,
 En humble et franche obeïssance.
 784 Haulte sapience,
 Digne relucence,
 Vray Dieu infiny,
 A vostre clemence,
 788 Plaine d'excellence,
 Rends grace et mercy.

Dieu

Femme, lieve toy droit icy,
 Sans plus retarder nullement,
 792 Affin que voyes ton mary
 Pour le compaigner noblement.

Eve

A vostre saint commendement
 Veulx tout mon corps appareiller
 796 Pour obeïr entierement
 A voz ditz, sans contrarier.

Dieu

Adam, temps est de t'esveiller.
 Lieve toy tost, sans demourer,

800 Car pour te aider et consoler
Te ay ceste femme preparee.

Adam, FAISANT ADMIRACION EN REGARDANT EVE

Hoc nunc [est] os de ossibus meis

Et caro de carne mea.

Ses os sont de mes os formez

Et sa chair de ma chair venue,

804 Car tout d'un sang sont conformez

Selon qu'elle est de moy congneue;

Donc pourtant qu'elle est d'homme yssue

Sera appelée *virago*

808 Pour ce que je l'ay apperceue,

Quia sumpta est de viro.

Dieu

Adam, saches pour chose clere,

Que le temps futur qui viendra

812 L'homme lessera pere et mere

Et a sa femme adherera,

Car la chose ainsi se fera

Que deux en une chair seront,

816 Lesquelz nul ne separera,

Car jamais ne se lesseront.

Eve

Grant grace de vous recepvront

Par divine operation

820 Ceulx qui vostre vouloir feront

En toute bonne intencion.

ICY PREND DIEU LES MAINS DEXTRES DE ADAM ET EVE ET FAIT
DESSUS LA BENEDICTION

Dieu

Vous aurez benediction

En ce lieu de divin parage

824 Pour la noble conjunction

Du sacrement de mariage.

Adam

Vray Dieu, puissant, clement et sage,

Honneur vous fais et reverence.

Eve

828 Je vous rendz salut et hommage

En vraye et humble obeïssance.

Dieu

Or croissez, par juste ordonnance,
 Tant que sexe humain multiplie,
 832 Affin que de vostre semence
 La terre soit toute remplye.

Adam

Vostre voulement infinie
 Acomplirons en ce manoir.

Eve

836 Vray Dieu, plain de grace anoblye,
 Nous ferons a vostre vouloir.

Dieu

Vous aurez soubz vostre povoir
 Tous les poissons, entierement,
 840 Qui font en la mer leur manoir
 Par tout universellement,
 Puis vous aurez semblablement
 Les bestes en vostre obeïssance
 844 Qui ont sur terre mouvement.
 Par nostre divine puissance
 Les oyseaulx aurez a plaisance
 Qui sont vollans, francz et agilles
 848 Et, pour bref, toute la regence
 Sur bestes, poissons, et reptilles;
 Puis pour substanter vostre vye
 Pourrez de tous ces fruitz user
 852 Excepté de l'arbre de vie,
 EN MONSTRANT L'ARBRE DE VIE
 Duquel vous deffendz d'en menger;
 Car je vous dy, pour abreger,
 Quelconque jour que en mengerez
 856 Nul ne vous sçauroit soullager,
 Car de mort pour vray vous mourrez.
 De tous ceulx cy menger pourrez
 Et en prendre a vostre tallent,
 860 Mais de cestuy point ne userez,
 Je le vous deffens notamment.

Adam

Sire, vostre commandement
 Sera faict, sans nulle doubtaunce.

Dieu

864 Gardez d'en menger nullement.

Eve

Nous feron a vostre plaisance.

Dieu

Adam, icy en ta presence

Toutes bestes et oyseaux verras

868 Pour pocesser la jouïssance

A ton plaisir quant tu voudras.

Ce que tu leur commanderas

Ilz te obeïront pleinement,

872 Et ainsi que les nommeras

Se feront leurs noms proprement.

Adam

Sire, bien doy reveremment

Faire vostre divin plaisir,

876 Quant si treshonorablement

Me faictes tant de bien choisir.

Dieu

Icy prendrés vostre desir

A garder, par bonne equité,

880 Ce beau lieu, pour vous resjouïr

Plain de toute süavité.

Eve

Sire, plain de divinité,

Sur tout puissant et vertueux,

884 Nous ferons vostre vولenté

De franc courage affectueux.

Dieu

VOUS DEUX EN CE LIEU PRECIEUX

ESTES CREEZ [PAR] PROVIDENCE,

888 POUR REMPLIR EN NOBLE EXCELLENCE

LASSUS LE HAULT SIEGE DES CIEULX.

Adam

Vray Dieu, puissant et glorieux,

A vous ferons obeïssance.

Dieu

892 VOUS DEUX EN CE LIEU PRECIEUX

ESTEZ CREEZ [PAR] PROVIDENCE.

Adam

De franc courage affectueux
Garderons ce lieu de plaisance.

Eve

896 Nous sommes soubz vostre regence
Pour obeÿr de cueur joyeux.

Dieu

VOUS DEUX EN CE LIEU PRECIEUX
ESTES CREEZ PAR PROVIDENCE
900 POUR REMPLIR EN NOBLE EXCELLENCE
LASSUS LE HAULT SIEGE DES CIEULX.

Adam

Prince, puissant et vertueux,
Grace vous rendons humblement.

Eve

904 Vray Dieu misericordieux,
Je vous mercye reveremment.

Dieu

Or est parfaict entierement
Se beau siecle et noble porpris

9 recto

908 Et l'homme mys notablement
Comme nous avyons entrepris.
Assés de travail avons prins
A fournir ce siziesme jour.

912 Donc comme saige et bien aprins
Cesserons de nostre labour;
Puis, par nostre grace et amour,
Comme vray Dieu glorifié,

916 Voulons que le septiesme jour
Soit begnin et sanctifié.
Sur tous autres est clarifié
Puis que nostre ouvre est acomplie;

920 Donc l'avons beatiffié
Par grace de vertus remplye.
Anges, plains de grace infinye,
Permanans en haulte assistance,

924 Reformez celeste armony
De toute doulce esjoÿssance.
Monter nous fault par excellence
Lassus aux trosnes precieux

928 Puis que parfait est la plaisance
De nostre vouloir glorieux.

Michel

Hault empereur, prince des cieulx,
Nous menerons joye honorable
932 Pour vostre saint nom vertueux
Sur tous puissant et admirable.

Gabriel

Vray Dieu, parfait, insuperable,
Plain de digne exaltacion,
936 Soubz vostre vertu charitable
Menerons jubilation.

Raphael

En joye par delectacion
Resonnerons chantz de musique
940 Pour vostre collaudacion
En quoy toute bonté s'applique.

Cherubin

Vray recteur de gloire autentique
Regnant en haulte eternité
944 Soubz vostre vouloir magnificque
Chanterons par sollemnité.

Seraphin

Pour la noble sublimité
De vostre puissance infinie,
948 En montant en felicité
Resonnerons chantz d'armonye.

Trosne

RESJOUYSSONS PAR MELODYE
LA TERRE ET TOUT LE FIRMAMENT.

Puissance

952 L'universelle monarchie
RESSJOUYSSONS PAR MELODYE.

Virtus

Chacun par trosne et iherarchye
Mayne lyesse entierement.

Dominacion

956 RESJOYSSONS PAR MELODYE
LA TERRE ET TOUT LE FIRMAMENT.

Dieu

Retournons honnorablement

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

960 Lassus en la gloire divine,
Resonnans chantz entierement
De toute armonye celestine.

ADONCQUES DOIVENT MONTER DIEU ET SES ANGES EN PARADIS,
CHANTANT MELODIEUSEMENT. TUNG CANTANT ANGELI SIMUL:

Summe Deus clemencie
Mundi que factor machine
964 *Unus potencialiter*
Trinus que personaliter.

[LA TRANSGRESSION]

Adam, EN ALLANT PARMY LE PARADIS TERREST[R]E
VOICY UNG LIEU MOULT NOBLE ET DIGNE
ET PLAIN DE GRANT ESJOUYSSANCE.

Eve, ALLANT SEMBLABLEMENT

968 A parler de grace benigne
VOICY UNG LIEU MOULT NOBLE ET DIGNE.

Adam

C'est composition divine
Créé par notable puissance.

Eve

972 VOICY UNG LIEU MOULT NOBLE ET DIGNE
ET PLAIN DE GRANDE ESJOUYSSANCE.

Adam

C'est moult grand plaissance
De veoir l'abondance

976 De ces noblez fruitz.

Eve

Il sont par puissance
Et digne clemence
Noblement productz.

Adam

980 C'est ung beau pourpris
Tout fait a devys
Par suavité.

Eve

C'est ung paradis
984 Plain de tous delitz
Et felicité.

9 verso

Adam

Voicy grant beaulté
Plaine de bonté
988 Et toute noblesse.

Eve

C'est jocundité
De veoir si planté
Fruictz a grant largesse.

Adam

992 C'est belle richesse.

Eve

C'est noble lyesse.

Adam

Je y prens grant plaisir.

Eve

C'est divine adresse.

Adam

996 C'est gloire sans cesse.

Eve

C'est tout mon desir.

Adam

On ne sauroit plus beau choisir

Pour tout plaisir solacieux.

Eve

1000 Nul ne peult avoir desplaisir

En lieu tant bel et gracieux.

Adam

C'est ung delit moult precieux

Remply de richesse honorable.

Eve

1004 Celuy est sur tous glorieux

Qui a fait lieu tant delectable.

Adam

Or gardons d'amour charitable

Ce beau paradis venerable

1008 Que Dieu nous a recommandé.

Eve

Sa puissance est inenarrable.

Si devons de vouloir feable

Faire ce qu'il a commandé.

Adam

1012 Son mandement sera gardé.

Eve

Acomplir devons son vouloir.

Adam

Quant je regarde ce manoir

Composé par noble puissance

1016 Je doy bien grant lyesse avoir

Rendant a Dieu obeïssance.

Il m'a donné la jouïssance

De tant qu'il y a entierement

- 1020 Pour en user a ma plaisance
 Par tout universellement.
 Rien n'a excepté seullement,
 Sy non que cest arbre de vie,
 1024 Qu'i[1] m'a deffendu notamment
 Sur peine de perdre la vie.
 Je n'ay nulle mondaine envye
 De passer son commandement,
 1028 Car j'ay ma volenté unye
 Avec la sienne, entierement.

Eve

- Je suis icy moult noblement
 En lieu plaisant et venerable
 1032 Recepvant grace entierement
 De Dieu puissant et permanable.
 En ce lieu est joye honorable
 De toute concorde et lyesse.
 1036 Premuny de vertus louable,
 De bien, d'honneur et de richesse.
 Quant je regarde la largesse
 Des biens qui sont en habondance
 1040 C'est ung grant tresor de noblesse,
 Remply de divine puissance;
 Tout est mis soubz nostre regence
 Pour en pover user et prendre
 1044 Excepté l'arbre de science
 Que Dieu nous a voulu deffendre.
 ICY DOIT ESTRE SATHAN VESTU D'UN HABIT EN MANIERE DE SER-
 PENT ET LE VISAGE DE PUCELLE

Sathan

- Il me convient au fait entendre
 Dont j'ay prins la commission
 1048 Pour en sçavoir bon compte rendre
 Selon ma proposition.
 De l'infenalle mansion
 Me fault partir, pour abreger,
 1052 Pour faire mon intencion
 Comme ung bon, loyal messenger.
 Tout droit m'en vois, pour abreger,
 Tempter la femme en ce party

1056 Qui a le couraige legier
Troplus que n'a pas son mary.
Advis m'est que suis bien aussi
Pour la decepvoir briefvement,
1060 Dont nous serons hors de soucy
En enfer tous entierement.

ICY SE MET SATHAN AUTOUR DE L'ARBRE DE VIE

[*Illustration: Eve and the serpent*]

10 recto

Eve

Quant je regarde notamment
De ce pourpris la stacion
1064 C'est ung lieu plain entierement
De toute jubilation.

PAUSE

Sathan

[De toute] salutacion
De divine exaltacion
1068 Soyez vous a ce jour remplye!

Eve

Je suis par admiracion
Fichee en perturbacion
D'avoir cy celle voix ouÿe.
1072 Qui est ce?

Sathan

Se suis je, m'amyé,
Qui viens cy en ceste partie
Pour adviser vostre prouffit.

Eve

De rechief suis toute esbahye
1076 Quant je voy en l'arbre de vie
Estre mis ung tel esperit.

Sathan

Adam et vous, sans contredit,
Recepvrez lyesse et delit
1080 De ce que je vous viens nuncer.

Eve

J'ay de le savoir appetit.
Dictes le moy, par vostre edit,
Pour tous nous en bien avancer.

Sathan

1084 Eve, je vous vueil demander,

- Pour ung bien parfait qui vous duyt,
 Pourquoi Dieu vous vould commander
 Que ne mengassez de ce fruit?
 1088 C'est l'arbre de vye qui produyt
 La sainte et divine science.
 Si sauroys volentiers l'esdit
 Pourquoi Dieu vous en fist deffence.
Eve
- 1092 Des autres avons jouÿssance
 Par volenté divine et pure
 Et en povons prendre a plaisance
 Pour paistre et substanter nature;
 1096 Mais, de cestuy, Dieu, par droicture,
 Ainssi comme nous congnoissons,
 L'a deffendu par adventure
 Affin que nous ne mourissions.
Sathan
- 1100 M'amy, ce sont abusions.
 Croyez que jamais ne mourrez;
 Ostez telz folles abusions
 Car tousjours sans mort vous vivrez;
 1104 Mais par moy advisez serez
 Pourquoi Dieu vous l'a deffendu;
 Puis je croy, quant vous le sçaurez,
 Que autre bien vous sera rendu.
Eve
- 1108 Mais que j'aye le cas entendu,
 J'en feray puis a ma plaisance.
Sathan
- Compter vous vueil le residu.
Eve
- Volentiers sçauray la sentence.
Sathan
- 1112 Vray est que Dieu sçait sans doubtaunce
 Quant vous en mengerez, vous deux,
 Que vous aurez la congnoissance
 De ses haulx secretz vertueux;
 1116 Car lors seront ouvers les yeulx
 De vostre arbitre liberal,
 Et serez ainsi que deux dieux
 Congnoissans tout bien et tout mal.

Eve

10 verso

[Full page illustration: terrestrial paradise with a fountain
from which emerge streams]

1120 Je croy que de franc cueur loyal
Me conseillez bien sagement.

11 recto

Sathan

Je le vous dy bien pour feal,
Desirant vostre advancement.

Eve

1124 Esprouver vueil presentement
Ce ceste-cy est savoureuse.

Sathan

Prenez et mangez hardiment,
Car par ce serez bien eureuse.

ADONCQUES DOIT PRENDRE EVE ET CUEILLIR UNE POMME DE
L'ARBRE, EN DISANT:

Eve

1128 O quel saveur delicieuse!
Voicy ung moult notable fruit.
Le goust me rend toute joyeuse,
Tant est de souef appetit.

1132 Maintenant suis a mon deduit
D'avoir cest arbre a ma plaisance.
J'en mengeray, puis qu'il me duit,
Car il est de grande substance.

1136 Tout droit m'en vois, sans difference
Porter a Adam que je voy;
Et feray tant de ma puissance
Qu'il en mengera comme moy.

ADONCQUES VA EVE VERS ADAM

Sathan

1140 Je suis joyeux quant je apperçoy
Que mon fait est tout abregé.
Rien ne s'en fault, comme je croy,
Tant est le cas bien solagé.

Eve

1144 Adam, sachez que j'ay mengé
Du fruit qu'est en l'arbre de vie.

Adam

Mangé! Dea, comment, sans congé?

Eve

J'en ay mengé, je vous affye.

Adam

1148 Haa! qu'avez vous fait, douce amye,
Quant Dieu nous l'avoit deffendu
Sur peine de perdre la vie,
Dont bien cher nous sera vendu?

Eve

1152 Amy, j'ay sceu et entendu
Pourquoy Dieu nous le vult deffendre,
Car par ce nous sera rendu
Tout bien pour divin fait comprendre,
1156 Et, ce ne fust pour vous attendre,
Je fusse ja au ciel lassus;
Mais tel honneur vous vueil bien rendre,
Comme a mon amy, au surplus.
1160 Tenez, mangez sans tarder plus,
Puis nous irons entre nous deux,
Car nous aurons telles vertus
Que nous serons comme deux dieux.

Adam

1164 Pour esprouver se j'auray mieulx
J'en mengeray, quoy qu'il advienne.
Le fruit est plaisant et joyeux.
Il ne peult que bien ne m'en vienne.

ICY PRENT ADAM LA POMME QUE EVE LUY BAILLE ET MORT
DEDANS, PUIS SE PRENT PAR LA GORGE, DISANT:

1168 O vray Dieu, de moy te souviennne!
Povre maleureux, que ay je fait?
Il convient que la mort me preingne,
Car j'ay commis villain meffect.
1172 Je sens et voy que j'ay forfait
D'avoir mengé de ce fruit cy,
Dont je suis bien homme deffaict
A jamais, sans avoir mercy.
1176 Or ay je a Dieu desobeï
Et passé son commandement.
Homme maudit, homme haï,
Tu es deceu traistreusement!
1180 Bien voy que douloureusement
Me conviendra finer mon aage,

- Car je seray honteusement
 Chassé de ce divin parage.
- 1184 Helas! quel oultrage!
 Je ne suis pas sage,
 Mais bien fortuné.
 Homme plain de rage,
 Ton villain courage
 Est bien mal mené.
 De tout bien suis habandonné
 Et pourmené
- 1192 Ainsi que ung chetif langoureux.
 A peché me suis incliné,
 Infortuné,
 Homme infelice et douloureux.
- 1196 Helas, las! povre malheureux
 Souffreteux,
 Diseteux,
 Remply de toute vilité
- 1200 As maintenant ouvert tes yeulx!
 Oultrageux
 Tu voys mieulx;
 Mais c'est a ta pudorité
- 1204 Malleur plain d'infortunité.
 Rage, douleur, langueur, fierté,
 Desespoir et toute grevance
 Me tiennent en societé,
- 1208 Pour la perverse iniquité
 De ma faul[c]e inobedience.

Eve

- Maintenant congnois mon offence,
 Chetive et maleureuse femme,
- 1212 Car par ma desobedience
 J'ay causé tout mal et tout blasme.
 O povre creature infame,
 Helas! qu'as tu fait? C'est par toy.
- 1216 Je suis bien plaine de diffame
 D'avoir commis ung tel arroy.
 Ha, faulx serpent, quant je te voy
 Je plains et plore amerement,
- 1220 Car par toy suis en grief esmoy
 Qui m'as deceu mauvasement.

11 verso

Par ton pervers enhortement,
Plain d'orgueil et mauvaise envye,

1224 J'ay passé le commandement
De Dieu, qui jamais ne desvyé.
Femme de lyesse bannye,
Femme de joye desheritee,

1228 Tu as recouvré mort pour vie,
Donc es de tout bien desistee!
Femme desolee
Tu es affollee

1232 Et bien malheureuse;
Tu estois consolee
Et a la vollee
Pers lyesse eueuse.

1236 Povre, chetive, et doloureuse,
As tu esté tant vicieuse
De convoiter tel forfaicture
Que par la folleur maligneuse

1240 Perdras toute joye fructueuse,
Ainsi que tu doys par droicture?

Adam

Je suis honteux de ma nature
Quant je voy ma fragilité,
1244 Donc je vueil charcher couverture
Pour musser mon humanité.

ADONCQUES DOIT ADAM COUVIR SON HUMANITÉ, FAIGNANT AVOIR
HONTE

Eve

Bien voy que mon iniquité
Me veult de joye faire absenter,
1248 Car je congnois, pour verité,
Que honte et vergoigne requier.

ICY CE DOIT SEMBLABLEMENT VERGONGNER LA FEMME ET SE
MUSSER DE SA MAIN

Adam

Prenons feuilles de ce figuier
Pour couvrir nos membres honteux
1252 Et puis nous en irons musser
En quelque lieu entre nous deux.

Eve

- Allons, car je voy de mes yeulx
 Le dangier que mon mal pourchasse.
 1256 Mussons nous es plus secretz lieux,
 Car honte et pudeur nous dechasse.
 ADONCQUES DOIVENT CUILLIR DES FEUILLES DU FIGUIER ET EULX
 EN COUVRIR

Dieu

- En ma similitude et face
 T'ay formé pour ma grace acquerre
 1260 Et tu as par faulce fallace
 Entreprins contre moy la guerre.
 Qu'as tu fait, homme fait de terre?
 Ou es tu? Ymagine comme
 1264 Tu m'as par trop offensé, homme.
 Ou es tu? Advise et regarde
 Le dangier qui te point et darde
 Du dart mortel, irremissible.
 1268 Te cuides tu faire invisible
 Devant moy? Adam, ou es tu?

Adam

- O sire Dieu, plain de vertu,
 J'ay offensé, je le congnoys.
 1272 En oyant ta divine voix
 J'ay eu peur, et de me veoir nu
 J'ay eu honte, car j'é congnu
 Ma nudité, prince des cieulx.

Dieu

- 1276 Qui esse qui t'a fait honteux,
 Fors que, comme mal entendu,
 Du fruit que t'avoys deffendu
 As mengé? Respons a cecy.

Adam

- 1280 Sire Dieu, faictes moy mercy
 Et me descoupez de ce blasme,
 Car se a esté par ceste femme
 Que a compaignie m'avez donnee
 [Illustration: "procès de paradis"]
 1284 Qui m'a la pomme presentee;
 El est cause de mon forfait.

12 recto

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

Dieu

Femme, pourquoy as tu ce fait?
Qui t'a meue d'ainsi te forfaire?

Eve

1288 Le faulx serpent me l'a fait faire,
Sire. Bien me suis apperceue
Qu'il m'a traistreusement deçue.

[L'EXPULSION]

Dieu

Entendue des biens la grande somme
 1292 Que j'avoye donné au premier homme
 Que j'ay créé si solemnellement
 Pour le sauver, je suys bien marry comme
 Il a osé menger de celle pomme,
 1296 Que j'avoye deffendu seullement;
 C'est bien raison que pecheur je le nomme
 Et que de droit le destruye et consomme,
 Qui transgressé a mon commandement.

Justice

1300 C'est dommage, Sire, s'on ne l'asomme
 De gref torment, sans repos et sans somme,
 Car il a bien deservy dampnement.

Misericorde

Hoo! Justice, trop parlez rudement,
 1304 Ma chiere seur, touchant ce jugement,
 Car equité en rien ne s'i accorde
 De le pugnir si rigoureusement.
 Trop mal gardé seroit misericorde.
 1308 Priez a Dieu plustost qu'il se recorde
 Du povre estat de sensualité,
 Sans le pugnir par grant crudelité.

12 verso

Dieu

O pecheur plain de iniquité,
 1312 Considere ton villain fait
 Par qui, a perpetuité,
 Il fault que toute humanité
 Soit obligee a ton forfait.

Justice

1316 Sire Dieu, si grant est le fait
 Et abhominable meffait,

 Quelque penitence qu'il face,
 Sans estre dampné en effait
 1320 Et le devez faire de fait.

Misericorde

Seur Justice, sauf vostre grace,

- Je suys icy devant la face
De Dieu pour prier qu'il efface
1324 Ce grant et excessif arrest
Lequel vous demandez qu'il passe;
Mais il fault bien que je pourchasse
Que ainsi ne soit pas si luy plaist.
1328 Sire Dieu, vous voyez que c'est
De l'homme qui a fait le vice,
Du quel grandement luy desplaist.
Justice
Pourtant vueil je qu'on le pugnisse.
Misericorde
1332 Sire Dieu, moderez Justice.
Celle veult estre trop grevable.
Dieu
Si fault il que je l'acomplisse.
Misericorde
Voire, mais soiez pitoyable.
Justice
1336 Comment? N'est point l'homme dampnable
Par jugement irrevocable
D'avoir par ung grant deshonneur
Si fort offensé son seigneur,
1340 Pour une pomme miserable?
Premierement, il est coupable,
Digne de estre mys en enfer
Autant ou plus que Lucifer,
1344 Qui pecha par ambicion.
Je treuve la transgression
D'Adam autant ou plus enorme,
Qui a peché par triple forme,
1348 Ainsi qu'en bref exposeray.
Dieu
Dictes, je vous escouteray
Avant que de donner sentence,
Et juste jugement feray
1352 Que on verra par experience.
Justice
Je dy, pour le premiere offence
Dont Lucifer est enteché,
Que l'homme y a trop plus peché

1356 Contre le divin presavoir
Quant autant a voulu sçavoir
Que son Dieu.

Misericorde

O dame Justice,
Voyez la maniere du vice:
1360 L'Ange pecha plus grandement
Quant, de certain entendement,
A Dieu se vout equaliser,
Parquoy plus est a depriser
1364 Que Adam, plain de debilité,
Qui, par la sensualité,
S'est au serpent condescendu;
Parquoy il doit estre entendu
1368 Mains coupable, selon raison,
Que l'Ange sans comparaison,
Et soustien qu'il le sçait aussi.

Justice

Je dy que Adam a fait ainsi
1372 Contre le createur du monde.
Et vien a l'offence seconde:
Vous sçavez que Dieu avoit dit
A l'homme, pour certain esdit,
1376 Que du fruit il ne mengeast point,
Et touteffois contre ce point
Et certaine inhibicion
De mauvaise inclinacion
1380 Le fruit receipt. Luy fait on tort
S'il en est condampné a mort?
Peché a deliberelement
Contre divin commandement
1384 Qui ne doit point estre remys;
Par quoy je dy qu'il a commis
Autant comme fist Lucifer
Et doit estre mys en enfer
1388 Ainsi que orgueilleux reprouvé,
Et ne doit point estre sauvé
Selon la divine ordonnance.

13 recto

Misericorde

Justice, il y a bien distance
1392 Que l'homme n'ayt d'autant failly

- Que l'Ange qui pecha de luy
 Et de sa propre voulenté.
 L'Ange ne fut jamais tenté
 1396 Et n'y avoit qui le tentast
 Que son createur offensast,
 Ce qui n'a pas esté en l'homme
 Qui jamais n'eust mengé la pomme
 1400 S[a]ns temptation precedente.

Justice

- Or soit ainsi, je suis contente.
 Touteffois esse double offence,
 Combien qu'el ne soit pas immense,
 1404 Tant que celle de l'Ange fut.
 A ce ne metz plus de reffut;
 Mais, pour la tierce villanie
 Je dy que Adam par gloutonnye
 1408 Pecha, et l'Ange ne fist pas,
 Qui voulut prendre a son repas
 Une pomme a luy interdite.

Misericorde

- Las, ce fut sa femme mauldite,
 1412 Que le traistre serpent tempta,
 Et a l'homme la presenta,
 Qui comme fresle la receut.
 Helas! Bien tost il apperceut
 1416 Sa faulte et se print a plourer.
 Vous ne devez pas procurer
 Envers la divine puissance,
 [P]uisqu'il peult faire penitence,
 1420 Qu'il soit du tout banny de grace.

Justice

- Quelque penitence qu'il face
 Deslyer ne sauroit la corde
 Du peché, s[e]ur Misericorde,
 1424 Ce ung autre n'en fait le payement;
 [P]arquoy je requier jugement
 Et que l'homme soit condampné
 Qui a mery estre damné
 1428 Par ces trois pouns sequentement.

Misericorde

Quant au regard du damnement
Eternel, ce seroit bien fort.

Justice

Ne luy dist pas notoirement
1432 Dieu, s'il passoit son mandement
Sur le fruit, qu'il mourrait de mort?

Misericorde

Ainsi fut dit, j'en suis d'acord,
Ma[i]s Dieu misericordieux
1436 Peult bien rapaiser ce discord,
Puis que conscience remort
Le povre pecheur vicieux.

Dieu

Voz propos sont litigieux,
1440 Plains de grans interlocutoires,
Et dictes raisons peremptoires,
L'un et l'autre, quant au peché
De qui Adam est empesché,
1444 Selon justice raisonnable
En rigueur il est condamnable,
C'est a quoy justice procede;
Mais Misericorde precede
1448 En moy, qui est ma fille aisnee,
Par quoy la sentence donnee
Selon rigueur ne sera point.

Misericorde

Je ne demande que ce point.
1452 Sire Dieu, accordez le moy.

Dieu

Adam se repent, je le voy,
Et est desplaisant de son vice.

Justice

Sire Dieu, gardez vostre loy
1456 Et vous monstrez chef de justice.
Privez le du lieu de delice,
Comme maudit, indigne d'estre
Habitateur de si bel estre
1460 En qui est tout bien delectable.

Misericorde

Sire Dieu, soyez pitoyable.

Pour ceste douloureuse pomme
Ne maudictes pas du tout l'homme,
1464 Car vous voyez qu'il se repent.

Dieu

Premierement sus le serpent
Jecteray la pugnicion
Par triple malediction,
1468 Qui a fait triple vilenye.
Premier, le serpent, par envye
Que l'homme deust salut avoir,
Tiré a a le decevoir,
1472 Envieux de son excellence;
Dont pour ceste premiere offence,
Qui est de tous maulx la racine,
Le serpent dessus la poytrine
1476 A tout jamais cheminera.

13 verso

Misericorde

Qui esse qui suffira
Et qui assez maudira
Le serpent, qui procura
1480 Que l'homm[e] se aventura
Quant le morceau savoura
De la pomme miserable,
Qui de Dieu le separa,
1484 Et tant se deshonnora
Que nature en demoura
Obligee, est, et sera,
Tant que monde durera,
1488 De ce grant vice coupable.

Dieu

Secondement, le serpent villenable
A offensé par mensonge damnable,
En parolles et dictz decepcieux,
1492 Et pour ce cas de sa bouche infamable
Tant qu'il sera en ce monde durable
Ne gettera si non vent venimeux,
Et, pour monstre qui trop soit malheureux
1496 D'avoir esmeu entre l'homme et moy guerre,
Ne mengera jamais rien si non terre
Venimeuse, orde, puante, infame;
Et tiercement entre luy et la femme

1500 Sera guerre parmanente conceue
Pour la cause que par luy est deceue.

Justice

Se le serpent vous maudictes
Des maledictions dictes,
1504 Il m'est advis de droit, Sire,
Qu'il[z] doivent estre reduittes
Aux pecheurs, rien plus petites;
Et que le devez mauldire,
1508 Car autant a fait ou pire
De vostre vueil contredire
Comme le serpent i[n]fait.

Misericorde

Las, il y a bien a dire,
1512 Qui concidere et remyre
La qualité du malfaict.

Dieu

Quant au regard de Eve, qui du forfait
Envers l'homme fut mediacion,
1516 Pour corriger la grandeur de son fait
Je vueil donner par sentence de fait
Dessus elle double pugnicion:
Premierement, par grant presumption
1520 A contredit mon mandement, si vueil
Que a tout jamais, pour pugnir son orgueil,
Soit subgecte a l'homme a chacune heure,
Et que a tousjours soubz puissance demeure
1524 Devant l'homme, tant de jour que de nuyt;
Secondement, elle a mengé du fruit
Et pour ce doit par fruit estre pugnée.
Selon raison juge saige et instruit
1528 Son jugement fait selon la follye;
Pour cestuy cas, jamais n'enfantera
Femme le fruyt qu'elle concepvera
Sans endurer douleur sus toutes forte.
1532 Quant est d'Adam, on le supportera.
Tant seulement d'un point maudit sera,
Qu'i[l] n'a peché qu'en une seulle sorte;
Il a mengé, donc il labourera.
1536 S'il veult mengier, son corps travaillera
Pour vivre avoir qui sa vie supporte;

Et mesmement la terre ou il yra

Pugnicion du peché sentira.

1540 Mauldicte soit, quelque fruit qu'elle apporte.

Misericorde

Pleure, Adam, et te desconforte.

Dieu a sus toy donné sentence.

Justice

Il fault que l'ange se transporte

1544 Vers eulx [et] qu'i[l] l'arrest raporte,

Ainsi qu'il est, sans difference.

Oultre plus, leur face deffence

De plus habiter celle place

1548 Ou il ont commis celle offence

Contre la divine clemence.

C'est bien raison qu'en les en chasse.

Misericorde

Helas! fault il que ainsi se face?

Dieu

1552 Ouÿ, c'est ung jugement dit,

Car ce lieu sera interdit

Aux humains pour ceste follye,

Jusqu'au temps de Enoch et Helye,

1556 Que dedans je colloqueray.

**Adam, ESTANT AU JARDIN*

Las! qu'esce que je feré?

Trop me suis deshonoré

Qui me suis advanturé

1560 De ceste pome mengier.

Las! qu'esce que le diré

Quant devant mon Dieu seré?

Bien sçay que de brief voirray

14 recto

1564 Qu'il viendra pour me juger.

Helas! qui eust peu songer

Que cheu fusse en ce danger?

Femme, ç'a esté par toy

1568 Et le serpent mensongier,

Faulx et traistre messagier,

Qui t'envoya devers moy.

Nue te voy,

1572 En povre arroy,

Ville nature.

Helas, pourquoy
 Contre ton roy
 1576 Prins l'aventure
 De ceste injure,
 Contre droicture
 Perpetrer, et contre la loy?
 1580 Helas, dolente creature,
 Tu as fait la sure morsure.
 C'est trop mal vescu, en la foy.

Eve

O douloureuse pecheresse
 1584 Que je suis, sans repoz ne cesse!
 Bien doy plourer en grant tristesse
 Pour l'extorcion et oppresse
 Qui par moy a esté commise.
 1588 Or puis je voir maintenant qu'esse
 De nature et de sa foiblesse?
 Maintenant fault que je congnoisse
 Ma villité. Las, pourquoy esse?
 1592 C'est pour que a peché me suys mise.
 Le traistre serpent m'a surprise.
 Helas! J'ay perdu ma franchise.
 Maintenant le voy et advise.
 1596 Je doy bien mauldire celle heure.
 Que au faulx serpent me suis submise,
 Parquoy j'ay fait ceste entreprinse
 Et la mortelle pome ay prinse,
 1600 Par qui il fauldra que je meure.

Adam

Pleure, dolente femme, pleure,
 Et de pleurs tout ton corps espleure
 D'avoir esté mediateure
 1604 Du serpent, et intercesseure
 Envers moy, pour moy decevoir.
 Requier a Dieu qu'il te sequeure.
 Repens toy, povre malfacteur,
 1608 Femme fragile, detracteur,
 De tout vice procureure!
 Quel reconfort peulx tu avoir?
 Present, tu peulx apparcevoir
 1612 Que tu as trop mal fait devoir

Par toy j'ay ce vice commis
 Du quel je puis assez savoir
 Qu'il nous convient mort recevoir;
 1616 Ainsi nous est de Dieu promis.

**Dieu*

Il est temps que l'homme soit mys
 Hors de mon plaisant heritage
 Pour le peché et grant outrage
 1620 Qu'il a fait contre mon esdit.
 Le lieu en sera interdit.
 Cherubin, embas descendez
 Et tout enflambé vous rendez,
 1624 Tenant ung glaive en vostre main,
 Flambant, et le premier humain
 Gettez dehors mon paradis.
 Les biens luy en sont interditz
 1628 Et pareillement a sa femme
 Pour le peché et grant diffame
 Qu'ilz ont fait contre ma justice.
 Chassez les du lieu de delice.
 1632 Et voysent au champ damascene
 En labourant vivre leur regne
 Qui long et douloureux sera.

Cherubin

Tantost de ce lieu partira
 1636 Adam, et Eve la meschante,
 Qui grandement s'esbahira
 Quant vostre mandement orra
 Et voirra l'espee flambante.
 1640 Triste, dolente, et desplaisante
 De ceste heure faire la vois,
 Et Adam aussi, je me vante,
 Quant il escoutera ma voix.

Misericorde

Vray Dieu tout puissant, roy des roys,
 1644 Vostre courage amoderez;
 Au mains promettez que une fois
 Misericorde leur ferez.

Dieu

1648 Bien, Cherubin, vous leur direz

Que une fois me recorderay
De eulx en pitié, et leur feray
Misericorde de leur fait.

Cherubin

1652 Hault et souverain Dieu parfait,
Cest esdit leur vois pronuncer,
Et reallement et de fait
Hors de paradis les chasser.

14 verso

Justice

1656 En tel lieu ne doit on laisser,
Mais cruellement expulser,
Creatures si tres infaictes.

Misericorde

Justice, sans vous courroucer,
1660 M'amy, vous devez penser
Comme les offences sont faictes.
Se les creatures forfaites
Se sont par leur fragilité,
1664 Par moy pevent estre refaictes
Leurs paix, selon bonne equité,
Vous savez que, de verité,
Quelque peché que l'homme face,
1668 Jamais Dieu en bonne equité,
S'il retourne en humilité,
Ne luy vouldroit denyer grace.

[*Illustration: Cherubin drives Adam and Eve out of terrestrial
paradise*]

**Cherubin*

Hors Adam, hors de ceste place,
1672 Vuydez tous deux sans plus d'espace.
Je suys le messaiger de Dieu
Lequel m'a dit que de ce lieu
Comme pecheurs vous prive et chasse.

Adam

1676 O sire Dieu, tourne ta face
Sus les povres pecheurs humains
Et s'il te plaist, point ne deschasse
Ce que tu as fait de tes mains.

1680 Regarde noz plains
De grans douleurs plains.

1684 Pren compassion
 De nous, et au mains
 Que soyons certains
 De remission.

Cherubin

Vuydez dehors! Plus en pocession
N'aurez ce lieu. A celuy retirez
1688 Ou faicte fut vostre creacion,
 Car en cestuy jamais ne habiterez.
 Au champ damascene tirez.
 Entre Dieu et vous est la guerre;
 Et pourtant veult il que la terre
 En peine de corps labourez.
 Quant des enfans que engendrez
 La femme qui les portera
1696 En douleur les enfantera,
 En souvenance du forfait.

Adam

Helas! est le jugement fait?
Sommes nous gens de Dieu maulditz?
1700 Est nostre peché tant infaict
 Et si grant qu'il faille de fait
 Qu'en pardon ce beau paradis?

Cherubin

Les biens vous en sont interditz.
1704 De vray, vous estes condamnez.

Eve

Voix du ciel, qu'esce que tu ditz?
Fault il que nous soyons damnez?

Cherubin

Sans plus attendre, cheminez,
1708 Car le dit est irrevocable
 Et jamais jour ne ymaginés
 Que pour demourer retournez
 En ce paradis delectable.

Adam

Las! sera point Dieu pitoyable?
1712 N'a il de nous quelque memoire?

Cherubin

Ouÿ, vostre paix est tractable
Envers Dieu, mais non pas encoire.

Eve

- 1716 Encore hélas! Vray Dieu de gloire,
Vueille toy de nous advertir!

15 recto

Cherubin

- Vuydez hors de ce territoire!
Vitement il en fault partir
1720 Et sans jamais y revertir.
Dieu l'a ordonné en ce point
Qui jamais ne pourroit mentir.
De ce qu'il dit il ne fault point.

Adam

- 1724 O femme, femme, mal apoint
Vins vers moy apporter la pomme!

Eve

Hélas! vous avez dit vray, homme.
Je requiers Dieu qu'il me pardoint.

Adam

- 1728 Quelz gens sommes nous, en quel point?
Tous nudz sans quelque couverture
Pour couvrir l'orreur de nature,
Hélas! qu'esse que nous feron?
1732 De quoy esse que couvriron
De nox corps les secretz piteux?
Voir l'ung l'autre sommes honteux.
Ainsi, o povre humanité,
1736 Monceau de terre lymonneux,
Ragarde ta fragilité!

Eve

- O lieu plain de felicité,
Fault il que, par iniquité,
1740 Et peché de nous, te pardon
Et que l'ung l'autre regardon
En une si grant vilité?

Adam

- Lieu de voluptuosité,
1744 Lieu de plaisir, lieu de soulas,
Je puis bien dire: Dieux, hélas!
Quant de toy je suis rejezté.
Hélas! Dieu m'y avoit bouté
1748 En plaisance si souveraine
Pour conduire a ma vولenté

- Tous les biens de nature humaine;
 Helas! j'eusse vescu sans peine
 1752 Ne prendre travail de mon corps.
 Helas! il fauldra que je painne
 Par chacun jour de la sepmaine,
 Puisque nous en sommes mys hors.
 1756 Las! ce nous eussions esté fors
 Ainsi qu'il estoit de droicture
 Sans avoir prins ce doulent mors,
 A paine jamais fussons mors
 1760 Sinon par decours de nature.

Cherubin

- Allez humains, je vous assure
 Que Dieu vous promect et acorde
 Par sa grande misericorde
 1764 Une foy de vous faire grace.
 ICY S'EN RETOURNE L'ANGE

**Adam*

- Or je pry a Dieu qu'il nous face
 Mieulx que nous n'avons desservy.
 Helas! or me suis je asservy,
 1768 Esloigné de beatitude.
 J'ay converty en servitude
 Liberté, la quelle j'avoye.
 Helas! par mon ingratitude
 1772 Je pers des biens la plenitude
 Que a mon plaisir je possidoie.

Eve

- Puis qu'il plaist a Dieu prenons voye.
 Adam, c'est pour nostre deserte
 1776 Que pardon le lieu plain de joye,
 Ou est de tous biens la montjoye,
 Qui nous est douloureuse perte.

Adam

- Vray Dieu, qu'est cecy? L'herbe verte
 1780 Saiche soubz nos pietz en passant.
 Bien est le vice apparessant
 Que avon commis, et forfaicture,
 Quant seiche devient la verdure
 1784 Par dessus la quelle passon.

Eve

A ceste heure nous congnoisson
Nostre malheureux incident;
Puis qu'il fault que seiche façon
1788 L'herbe par sus qui nous marchon,
Le peché est bien evident.

Adam

Or suis je Adam, le president
De tristesse et [de] desconfort,
1792 De toutes vertus accident,
Ou est manent et resident
L'originel tiltre de mort.
Las! conscience me remort.
1796 Signe de mon peché tresort
Monstre la voye ou je chemine,
Hayante de moy le support.
Bien doy avoir grant desconfort
1800 Quant je considere ce signe.

[*Illustration: Eve nurses a child while Adam digs*]

15 verso

Eve

O pugnicion divine
Qui jusques a la racine
L'herbe seiche, brule, et mine
1804 Sus qui les piedz avons mis,
Bien monstrez ta vertu digne
Contre la faulte maligne,
A qui j'ay esté incline
1808 Du peché que avons commis.

Adam

Or sa, puisque Dieu a permis
Que a povreté soyons soubmis,
Ainsi que nous a recité
1812 L'Ange pour nous chasser commis,
Tant que le peché soit remis
Endurer nous fault povreté;
Et pour couvrir humanité
1816 Convient faire en diverses sortes
Habis de peaux de bestes mortes
Et trouver ceste habillité
Pour monstrez que necessité

1820 Trouve les ars et la science.
ICY SE VONT VESTIR DE PEAULX

Eve

C'est grant pitié en verité
Que de nostre mortelle essence
Au devant que faire l'offence
1824 En rien honteux nous n'estion
De veoir l'ung l'autre. Difference
Aucunement ne faysion;
Mais depuis la transgression
1828 Tousjours honteux avons esté
Touttefois que nous regardon
L'ung de l'autre la povreté.

**Dieu*

Or est Adam hors regetté
1832 De mon paradis precieux
Et plain de toute amenyté
Ou est toute fecondité
De bien mondains delicieux;
1836 Quant est du royaulme des cieulx
Et de mon paradis celeste,
Dés ceste heure icy je proteste
De point ne les en interdire.

Justice

1840 Comment est il possible, Sire,
Que vous reputez l'homme abille
De posseder ce hault empire?
Il ne [me] semble point utile.

Dieu

1844 Si feray au moyen d'une huile
Qui d'un saint fruct depurera
Qui Adam avec sa famille
Toute, tant de filz que de fille,
1848 De cest vice mundifiera.

Justice

A bien grant peine se sera
Et me semble qu'il ne peult estre.

Misericorde

Sauf vostre grace, si fera
1852 Puis qu'il plaist a Dieu le parmettre.

Justice

Il est vray que Dieu est le maistre,
 Mais pour faire justice bonne
 Ce n'est pas rayson qu'il pardonne
 1856 Ainsi de l'homme le deffault.

Misericorde

Mais necessairement le fault,
 Car Dieu seroit trop rigoureux
 Que pour ung pecheur ou pour deux
 1860 Perdist une communauté;
 Car pourquoy? La posterité
 N'est pas cause de vitupere
 Que a perpetré leur premier pere
 1864 Les accés. Leur seroit trop mal
 A cause de pere et de mere
 D'avoir peché hereditail.

Justice

Puis que le membre capital
 1868 Est blessé, veullent ou non veullent,
 Tous les autres membres s'en deullent;
 C'est amphorisme solennel.
 Or est d'Adam sempiternel
 1872 Le vice, et a bonne sentence
 Cestuy peché originel
 Doit sentir toute sa semence.

16 recto

Dieu

Tous ce sentiront de l'offence
 1876 Et jamais n'auront saulvement,
 Tant que divine sapience
 Y ait procedé autrement.

VARIANTS AND NOTES

- Incipit* avecques les hystoires de la Bible C; le vieil Testament C.
- Nota* jusques ad A; ayt creé B.
- 11 *personne* jointe C.
- 17 pour oeuvre C.
- 20 pourpris *chascun* corps C.
- 23 *effaictz* C.
- 28 *Sa place* aura C.
- 43 ce *siecle* B, C.
- 47 *haulx* sons B, *haulx* sons C.
- 55 *lesquelz* C.
- 56 de nos *aymez* A, B, R. de noz *bons* et C. The reading of C has been accepted for metre.
- 60r au *milleu* B, au *meilleu* d'eux C.
- 64 la *monarchie* gloire C.
- 71 pure et *nette* B.
- 84r *Lucifer* B, C; B also adds *et dit*.
- 98 C omits *tant*.
- 102 me *rens* B.
- 104 A has *psalmateur*. Plasmateur B, C, R. This has been accepted for sense.
- 111 de *cueur* loyal C.
- 118 *hault* eternité C.
- 125 *resoner melodie* B, *raisonner* C.
- 148 B omits *autre*.
- 152 *meritore* A, *meritoire* B, C, R.
- 155 Mercy vous rends *et* A; *quant* is borrowed from B, C and R.
- 180 en tout *bien* B.
- 184 *Le* beau R.
- 185 In A the word after *estes* is not clear; *mis* is borrowed from B, C and R.
- 200r *Rapael* A, *Raphael* B, C and R.
- 202 D'amour et *de* cordialité A. Corrected from B and C for metre. R retains *de*.
- 216r Although *Tunc simul cantant angeli* is an octosyllabic line, it does not fit in with the rhyme scheme and must be a stage direction. It is not counted in line numbering.
- 217 The complete text of this hymn can be found in *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, published by the Surtees Society, Durham, England, 1851, p. 1.
- 228r to 350 are misplaced in B, where l. 410 erroneously follows l. 228.
- 233 *la* preference A. The example of B, C and R is followed for metre.
- 234 D'honneur *et* gloire C.
- 290 Par *moy* A. Par *quoy* B, C and R.
- 301 tant *suppellative* C, *suppellitative* R.
- 302 d'*ardant* A, d'*ardeur* B, C and R.
- 309 *parfaicte* C.

- 311 *environnee* A, *environné* B, C and R. Corrected for meaning and rhyme.
- 338 *feray* A and C; *seray*, B and R, seems necessary for sense.
- After 349 B inserts erroneously a line:
Mais au plus parfond defendras
- 368 *en tel* B, C.
- 373r *le vi ange* A, C; *v.* B, *v^e* R.
- 391 *value* B, C.
- 406r The word following *dessus ung* is unclear, but is probably *pivos*; *pivot* B, *pivos* C and R. As *Non ascendes, sed descendes* does not rhyme with surrounding lines it is not included in the numbered lines.
- 410 This line is omitted here in B but was included earlier. See note to line 228.
- 417 Contre *et* A, *le* B, C and R. The article is needed for sense and metre.
- 426 *verocité* B.
- 435 *infernalles*, B, C and R; *mansion* C.
- 439r *en enfer* C; *et getter feu* A, B; *getteront feu* C; *et dira* A, C and R, *et dit* B; C omits *du dit enfer*.
- 452 Nostre *gorueil* A.
- 454 R does not recognize that "Lucifer. . . Je meurs de couroux" together constitute an octosyllabic line. Henceforth his line numbering will differ from that of the present edition.
- 455 *Quen* A, C, *quant* B, R.
- 456 *d'infection* B.
- 457 *tumbez huans, bruans* B.
- 467 *brasee* A, B, *brassé* C, R. The second *e* has been dropped for metre.
- 474 *diable* B, *dyable* R.
- 478 *Nous sommes par trop atachez* B.
- 483 *Supplication* B, C.
- 485 *ineffailible* B.
- 507 *Entre* A, B, *Oultre* C, *Outre* R.
- 517 *du pis* B.
- 520 *avons perdu tous* C.
- 526 C omits *C'* before *est*.
- 527 *a bas* A, C; *a* omitted by B.
- 528 *lieu du* C.
- 530 *Dueil* C.
- 552 *comme experts et insolites* A; *comme punis de leurs vices* B; *comme experts et infelices* C. C's reading seems best.
- 554 *pour* is lacking in C.
- 559 *et*, lacking in A, is supplied from B, C and R.
- 582r *drap* is unclear in A. It is borrowed from B, C and R.
- 584 appears twice in A; in the first case the last word is spelled *clartes*. Soient faictes *decy*, B; *clartez* C.
- 595r *ung mer* C.
- 600r *faire monstrer* A, C, R; *faire* is lacking in B.
- 607 *chachun* A, R, *chacun* B, C.
- 608 *Pius* A. *Puis* B, C and R.

- 610 nous *asserrons* C. R makes an error here in numbering lines so that his enumeration once more coincides with that of our edition.
- 611 *grantz* is lacking in B, *grans* C.
- 614 Le soleil la lune *ferons* B.
- 616 resplendira *celerement* A. *clerement* B, C, R.
- 620 pour le A, B, pour la C, R.
- 627 sa jus B.
- 631 *Rendes* B, *Rendans* C.
- 631r *Adonc* B. *Painct* is lacking in B.
- 634 *crerons* B.
- 635 *oyseaux* A, *oyseaulx* B, C, R.
- 639 qu'ilz C.
- 642 *acoupley* A, *acouplez* B, C, R.
- 649r *et triumpamment* is lacking in B. *millieu* B.
- 657r *comme a maniere, comme* is lacking in B; *parties de paradis* B; *selon le texte* is lacking in B.
- 667 ce *beu* siecle B.
- 669 *quatre* C.
- 672 *vostrrre* A. *vostre* B, C, R.
- 680 la *cour* R; *celistine* B.
- 688 *Vostre mour* A, *amour* B, C, R.
- 709r *ce qui s'ensuit* C, R. In A *qui* is not clear. In B the phrase is lacking.
- 719 *Prince du ciel et acteur* B.
- 721 *Monseigneur mon prince* B. *Mon* has been added before *recteur* for metre.
- 744 *Auquel* C.
- 752 *une aide*, A and R omit *une*; *Faisons luy une ayde* B; *Or faisons luy ayde* C. *Une* added for metre.
- 756 *qu'i* A, B and R, *qu'il* C.
- 757r *qu'il* is added for sense.
- 767 *toy monstrier* A, *monstre* B, C and R.
- 792 *Affin que tu voyes* A, B, R, *affin que voyes* C. The reading of C is accepted for metre.
- 801r The lines in Latin do not rhyme, so they are not included in numbering of lines. *Est* is added for sense.
- 802 *formez* is lacking in C.
- 813 *adherra* B.
- 815 *une chose* seront B.
- 818 de vous *recevons* A, B, *recepturont* C. The latter is adopted for sense.
- 820 *vouloir seront* A, B; *feront* C. We accept *feront* for sense.
- 853 *deffendez* B.
- 860 *ne usererez* B.
- 869 *ton posseder* C.
- 887 *pour providence* A, B, C. *par providence* R. I accept R's reading for sense.
- 900 *en nostre* excellence B.
- 909 *avons entrepris* C.
- 919 *nostre euvre* B, *oeuvre* C.
- 920 *avons beattifie* B, *beatifie* C.

VARIANTS AND NOTES

- 938 en joye *et* C.
 949 *Resionnerons* A, *resonnerons* B, C and R.
 955 *Mamy* liesse A, *Mayne* B, *Maine* C. We have rejected the reading of A for reasons of meaning.
 961 *route* is lacking in C.
 962 The text of this Latin Hymn is given in full in *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, published by the Surtees Society, Durham, England, 1851, p. 29. The stanza that corresponds to that of our play reads:
 Summe Deus clementiae
 Mundique factor machine
 Unus potentialiter
 Trinusque personaliter. . .
 Since the Latin text fits in with rhyme and metre it is included in line numbering.
 963 *Mundiqz* *facte* A, B, C. *Mundique factor* R. See note on this line, given by Rothschild, Vol. I, p. 40.
 965 *Trinus qz* A, *Trinusque* R.
 965r *paradis terrestre* A, B, R, *paradis terrestre* C.
 967 *E* plain B; *esjouyssancet* B.
 967r *en* allant B; *semblablement* is omitted by B.
 977 *Il* sont, A, B and R, *Ilz* C.
 Lines 983-1085 are lacking in B.
 1013 R believes that a passage which would follow l. 1011 is missing in all our early prints. In this section would be found an introduction to the *diablerie* that begins in our text at l. 1046. In the *manuscript de Troyes* such a scene appears (see Rothschild, Vol. I, p. li). Rothschild reproduces the scene from the *manuscript de Troyes* in the introduction to his edition, Vol. I, pp. li-lv. Lines 1012 and 1013 of our editions, which do not appear in the *manuscript de Troyes*, seem to have been added to A, B and C to bridge the lacuna.
 1018 *Il me* donne C.
 1024 *Qui* A, *Quil* C. *Qu'il* has been adopted for meaning.
 1057 *Trop plus* C.
 1066 *Que pour* salutacion A, B, C; *De toute* salutacion, R. Corrected according to R for sense and metre.
 1071 *D'avoir en* celle A, *D'avoir cy* celle, C, R.
 1084 *Que* je A. *Eve* je C, R. I accept the latter as preferable for meaning.
 1087 *mengeassez* C.
 1101 *ne nourrez* C.
 1102 *Ostez telles* C.
 1108 *je* is lacking in C.
 1125 *Se* ceste C.
 1129 *Vecy* ung B.
 1173 *fruit icy* B.
 1188 *Tout* villain B.
 1201 *Ostrageux* B, *Oultrageux* C, *oustrageux* R.
 1209 *ma faulte* A, B, *faulse* C, *faulce* R.
 1212 *ma desobeissance* C.
 1244 *vueil chercher* B, C.

- 1247 *faire* is lacking in C.
 1249 et *vergonge* C.
 1250 Prenons *feuilles* C.
 1257r doivent *cueillir* B, C; des *feuilles* C.
 1278 que *t'avoyes* A, B, R, *t'avoys* C. Our correction is made from C for syllable-count.
 1281 me *descoupez* B, *descoulpez* C.
 1285 Et est A, El est B, C, R. Reading of other texts accepted for sense.
 1287 *de (d')* is lacking in C.
 1290-95 In R's edition the *Creacion* ends with l. 1290 and the *Transgression* begins with l. 1295. The text of R corresponds to that of the other editions, so the error resides in the enumeration of the lines. Henceforth the line numbers of R and the present edition will no longer coincide.
 1301 *grief* torment C.
 1304 Ma *chere* B, C.
 1316-20 The meaning of these lines is not clear, and the rhyme scheme here is so irregular that it does not help to indicate where the error lies. It is possible that a line, following l. 1317, is missing. This line is also lacking in B, C and R; but C has tried to improve the sense by substituting for l. 1319 the following: *Qu'il le fault dampner en effaict*. Since an omission is not certain we have not taken one into consideration in line numbering.
 1348 en *brief* C.
 1354 est *entache* C.
 1397 The word following *Que* is not clear in A. *Que son* B, C, R.
 1400 *Sns temptation* A, *Sans* B, C, R.
 1419 In A the first letter is not clear. *Puisqu'il* B, C, R.
 1423 *sur Misericorde* A, B; *seur* C, R.
 1425 In A the first letter is unclear. *Parquoy* B, C, R.
 1433 qu'il *montroit* A, qu'il *mourroit* B, C, R.
 1435 *Mas* Dieu A, C, *Mais* B, R.
 1457 Privez l'ay A, B and R, Privez le C. Corrected according to C for meaning.
 1465 *sus* le A, B, R, *sur* le C.
 1480 Que l'*homm* A, l'*homme* B, C, R.
 1487 que le monde B.
 1490 A l'*offencé* A, B, C. R corrects to read *A offencé* and suggests that *M'a offencé* might be a better reading.
 1501 est *deceus* A, B, *deceue* C, R. Corrected for rhyme and meaning.
 1505 Qu'il A, R, *ilz* B, C; *reduictes* A, C, R, *reduictes* B.
 1510 The word after *serpent* is unclear in A; *serpent infait* B, R, *infaict* C.
 1531 douleur *sus* A, B, R, *sur* C.
 1534 A, B, C, R *Qui*. Changed to *Qu'i[l]* for sense.
 1542 a *sus* A, B, R, a *sur* C.
 1544 C adds *et* between *eulx* and *qui*. We accept C's reading. *Qui* is changed to *qu'i[l]* for sense. R has (1548) *Vers eulx, qui l'arrest raporte*.
 1548 Ou il A, B, R, *ilz* C.
 1557 que je *feray* C.

- 1561 je *diray* C.
 1562 mon Dieu *seray* C.
 1571 *Nuee* A, *nue* B, C, R.
 1581 la *sus* morsure B.
 1592 C'est pour *ce* que C. The addition of *ce* improves the sense but ruins the metre.
 1626 Gettez *hors de* B.
 1627 *en* is lacking in B.
 1632 *damascens* A, *damascene* B, C, R.
 1633 *leurs* regne A, B, *leur* C, R.
 1646 *main*s A, R, *moins* B, C.
 1680 *Regarge* noz B.
 1686 *en procession* A, *pocession* B, R, *possession* C. Corrected for meaning.
 1702 *en pardons* C.
 1730 l'*orte*ur de A, l'*orre*ur B, C, R.
 1731 nous *ferons* C.
 1732 que *couvriron* A, R, que nous *couvriron* B, que *couvrirons* C.
 1736 *Mõceau*, A, *Mon coeur* B, *Monceau* C and R.
 1740 te *pardon*, A, B and R, te *predon* C. This seems to be another example of the use of *ar* where modern French has *er*. See also *charcher*, l. 1244 and *parmettre*, l. 1852.
 1755 *en* is lacking in C.
 1756 *se nous* R. This is an example of the frequent confusion of *ce* and *se* in our texts; nous *eussions* A, R, *eussions* B, C.
 1759 jamais *fussions* A, B, R, *feussions* C.
 1779 qu'*esse* cy C.
 1780 *seiche* soulz B, C.
 1791 et *de* desconfort. *De*, not found in any previous edition, has been added here for metre.
 1805 Bien *monstrez* A, B, *monstres* C, R.
 1810 *soubmis* A, B, R, *submis* C.
 1838 ceste heure cy B.
 1839r *Justicce* A, *Justice* B, C, R.
 1843 A, B and C read *Il ne semble*. R adds *me*. We have adopted the addition of *me* for metre.
 1844-48 The oil referred to here is the "huile de la miséricorde" which at the moment of his death Adam sends Seth to obtain from the angel who guards the gate of heaven. The oil represents Christ who by his death will purify Adam and his offspring from sin. On this see Rothschild, I, pp. lxxii-lxxiii and E. C. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago, 1962).
 1852 *parmettre* A, R, *permettre* B, C.
 1873 peché *orgeuil* A, peché *originel* B, R, peché *faict par orgueil* C.
 1875 Tous *se* R. See note to l. 1756.

Glossary

- accident 1792, *malheur*
 amphorisme 1870, *aphorisme*
 buans 457, pres. part. *buer, dégager de la vapeur*
 cautelle 443, *finesse*
 collaudacion 349, 396, 940, *louange*
 collauder 40, 74, *louer ensemble* (*Deu presdrent mult a conlauder* [Vie de S. Leg., ms. Clermont, st. 35] Godefroy s.v.)
 departye 28, *separer*
 depurera 1845, *decouler*
 desistee 1229, *dépourvu*
 depriser 1363, mépriser (*gens desprisans ce qu'ilz ne sçavent faire* [Pronost. d'Hab-enragel, c.v., Poés. fr. des XV^e et XVI^e s., VI, 21] Godefroy s.v.)
 deulx 530, *deuil*
 diseteux 1198, *qui est dans la disette* (*S'en biens mondains es nu et diseteux* [Greban, *Mystère de la Passion* 6699] Godefroy s.v.)
 enteché 1354, *garner, en parlant d'une qualité morale* (Godefroy, s.v.); ici plutôt *accusé*.
 esdit 1090, 1375, 1620, etc., *ordre*
 espartye 29, *dispenser*
 exaulcer 63, *exalter* (*pour . . . les biens et vertus exaulcer et louer* [Louis XI, Nouv., LXXXIII. Jacob] Godefroy s.v.)
 exelse 179, *très élevée* (*Benoite soit ta gloire, et ta majesté excelse* [G. Chastell., *Chron. des D. de Bourg.*, I^{re} p., Proesme, Buchon] Godefroy s.v.)
 exitez 579, *relever*
 explaner 187, *exposer*
 fortunier 1186, *infortuné*
 huitz 542, *cris*
 iherarchies 44, 124, 954, *hiérarchie*
 immundicité 621, *impureté*
 infection 411, *odeur infecte* (*L'infection de ces dragons rend l'air si corompu* [Rom. d'Alex., B.N., 17724, f^o 276^b] Godefroy s.v.)
 limitez 581, *limites*
 manent 1793, pres. part. *maner, demeurer*
 monceau 1736, *tas*
 montjoye 1777, *quantité considérable* (*Si vous avez de biens une monjoye, . . .* [De quel boys se chauffe Amour, ap. Michel, Poés. goth.] Godefroy s.v.)
 mundifiera 1848, *purifier*
 musser 1245, 1249r., 1252, etc., *cacher*
 pourpris 229, 907, 980, etc., *enceinte* (*Les jardins et pourpris ou siet le dit manoir* [1484, *Aveux du bailliage d'Evreux*, A. N. P. 294] Godefroy s.v.)
 premunir 64, *préparer*
 pudorité 1203, *pudeur*
 rainseaulx 605r., 657, *petite branche*
 refulcir 44, 223, fulcir 52, *étayer*
 supedité 286, *mis sous ses pieds, subjugué*

LA CREACION, LA TRANSGRESSION AND L'EXPULSION

suppeliative 301, suprême (*Loenge superlative* [Christ. de Pis., *Chem. de long est.*, Puschel] Godefroy s.v.)

supportera 1532, *soulager*

tartarique 411, *du Tartare*

vollee (a la vollee) 1234, *sans prendre le temps de la reflexion*

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